

HISTORY OF NATIONS.



THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

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BOOK XVI.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

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A. C. 69, 70.

THE last winter of Jerusalem passed away in the same ferocious civil contests; her streets ran with the blood of her own children; and instead of organizing a regular defence against the approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its own position against the ministering assaults of its antagonists. The city was now divided into three distinct garrisons, at fierce and implacable hostility with each other. Eleazar the son of Simon, the man who was the first cause of the war, by persuading the people to reject the offerings of the Roman Emperors, and who afterward had set himself at the head of the Zealots, and seized the Temple, saw, with deep and rankling jealousy, the superiority assumed by John of Gischala. He pretended righteous indignation at his sanguinary proceedings, and at length, with several other men of influence, Judas the son of Hilkiah, Simon the son of Ezron, and Hezekiah the son of Chobar, he openly seceded

from the great band of Zealots who remained true to John, and seized the inner court of the Temple. And now the arms of savage men, reeking with the blood of their fellow-citizens, were seen to rest upon the gates and walls of the Holy of Holies: the sacred songs of the Levites gave place to the ribald jests of a debauched soldiery; instead of the holy instruments of music, were heard the savage shouts of fighting warriors; and among the appointed victims, men, mortally wounded by the arrows of their own brethren without, lay gasping upon the steps of the altar. The band of Eleazar was amply supplied with provisions; for the stores of the Temple were full, and they were not troubled with religious scruples. But they were few, and could only defend themselves within, without venturing to sally forth against the enemy. The height of their position gave them an advantage over John, whose numbers were greatly superior—yet, though he suffered considerable loss, John would not intermit his attacks; clouds of missiles were continually discharged into the upper court of the Temple, and the whole sacred pavement was strewn with dead bodies.

Simon the son of Gioras, who occupied the upper city, attacked John the more fiercely, because his strength was divided, and he was likewise threatened by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon, which Eleazar had over John. It was a perilous enterprise to scale the ascent to the Temple, and on such ground the Zealots had no great difficulty in repelling the incessant assaults of Simon's faction. Against Eleazar's party they turned their engines, the scorpions, catapults, and balistas, with which they slew not a few of their enemies in the upper court, and some who came to sacrifice. For it was a strange feature in this fearful contest, that the religious ceremonies still went on upon the altar, which was often

encircled with the dead ; besides the human victims which fell around, the customary sacrifices were regularly offered. Not only the pious inhabitants of Jerusalem constantly entreated and obtained permission to offer up their gifts and prayers before the altar of Jehovah, but even strangers from distant parts would still arrive, and, passing over the pavement slippery with human blood, make their way to the Temple of their fathers, where, they fondly thought, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, still retained his peculiar dwelling within the Holy of Holies.—Free ingress and egress were granted ; the native Jews were strictly searched, the strangers were admitted with less difficulty ; but often in the very act of prayer, or sacrifice, the arrows would come whizzing in, or the heavy stone fall thundering on their heads ; and they would pay with their lives the price of kneeling and worshipping in the sacred place.

The contest raged more and more fiercely—for the abundant stores within the Temple so unsparingly supplied the few adherents of Eleazar, that, in their drunkenness, they would occasionally sally out against John. When these attacks took place, John stood on the defensive ; from the outer porticoes repelled Simon, and with his engines within harassed Eleazar. When the drunken or overwearied troops of Eleazar gave him repose, he would sally forth against Simon, and waste the city. Simon in his turn would drive him back ; and thus the space around the Temple became a mass of ruin and desolation ; and in these desultory conflicts, the granaries, which, if carefully protected and prudently husbanded, might have maintained the city in plenty for years, were either wantonly thrown to waste or set on fire by Simon, lest they should be seized by John.

The people, in the mean time, particularly the old men and the women, groaned in secret ; some

uttered their prayers, but not aloud, for the speedy arrival of the Romans, to release them from the worse tyranny of these fierce strangers. In one point the three parties concurred, the persecution of the citizens, and in the condign punishment of every individual whom they suspected of wishing well to the Roman army, as their common enemy. It was dreadful to witness the deep and silent misery of the people; they dared not utter their griefs, their very groans were watched, and stifled in their hearts. But it was even more dreadful to see the callous hard-heartedness which had seized all ranks—all were alike become reckless from desperation—there was no feeling for the nearest kindred, their very burial was neglected—all the desires, the hopes, the interest of life were extinguished, death was so near, it was scarcely worth while to avoid it. Men went trampling over dead bodies as over the common pavement; and this familiarity with murder, as it deadened the hearts of the citizens, so it increased the ferocity of the soldiers. Yet, even in the midst of all this, the old religious prejudices were the last to yield. Among the atrocities of John, the promiscuous spoliations and murders, one act made still a deep impression upon the public mind, his seizing some sacred timbers of great size and beauty, which Agrippa had brought from Lebanon, for the purpose of raising the Temple twenty feet, and his converting them to the profane use of raising military towers, to annoy the faction of Eleazar in the inner Temple. He erected these towers on the west side, where alone there was an open space, the others being occupied by flights of steps. The force of the three factions was as follows: Simon had 10,000 men, and 5,000 Idumeans; John 6,000; Eleazar 2,400.

At length, after this awful interval of suspense, the war approached the gates of Jerusalem. Titus, having travelled from Egypt, arrived at Cæsarea

and began to organize his forces. In addition to the three legions, which Vespasian had commanded, the twelfth returned to Syria, burning with revenge for its former disgraceful defeat under Cestius Gallus. The Syrian kings sent large contingents. The legions were full; the men who had been drafted off by Vespasian having been replaced by 2,000 picked troops from Alexandria, and 3,000 of those stationed on the Euphrates. Tiberius Alexander, who was distinguished not only by his wisdom and integrity, but by the intimate friendship of Titus, was appointed to a high command. He had been the first, in the recent political changes, to espouse the party of Vespasian; and his experience in arms and knowledge of the country, which he had once governed, added weight to his counsels. The army advanced in its customary order of march; first the allies, then the pioneers; the baggage of the principal officers strongly guarded, then Titus himself with a select guard of spearmen, then the horse attached to the legions. The military engines next, strongly guarded. The eagles and the trumpeters followed, then the legionaries in their phalanx six deep, the slaves with the baggage; last of all the mercenaries, with the rear-guard to keep order. The host moved slowly through Samaria into Gophna, and encamped in the valley of Thorns, near a village called Gaboth Saul, the Hill of Saul, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem. Titus himself with 600 horse went forward to reconnoitre. As they wound down the last declivities, which sloped towards the walls, the factious and turbulent city seemed reposing in perfect peace. The gates were closed; not a man appeared. The squadron of Titus turned to the right, filed off, and skirted the wall towards the tower Psephima.—On a sudden, the gate behind him, near the tower of the Women, towards the monument of Helena, burst open; and countless multitudes threw themselves, some across the road

on which Titus was advancing, some right through his line, separating those who had diverged from the rest of the party. Titus was cut off with only a few followers—to advance was impossible. The ground was covered with orchards and gardens, divided by stone walls and intersected by deep trenches and water-courses, which reached to the city walls. To retreat was almost as difficult, for the enemy lay in thousands across his road. Titus saw that not a moment was to be lost; he wheeled his horse round, called to his men to follow him, and charged fiercely through. Darts and javelins fell in showers around him; he had rode forth to reconnoitre, not to battle, and had on neither helmet nor breastplate. Providentially, not an arrow touched him—clearing his way with his sword on both sides, and trampling down the enemy with his fiery steed, he continued to cleave his passage through the dense masses. The Jews shouted with astonishment at the bravery of Cæsar, but exhorted each other to secure the inestimable prize. Yet still they shrank and made way before him—his followers formed round him as well as they could, and at length they reached their camp in safety;—one man had been surrounded and pierced with a thousand javelins—another, having dismounted, was slain, and his horse was led away into the city. The triumph of the Jews was unbounded—Cæsar himself had been seen to fly—it was the promise and presage of more glorious and important victories.

The legion from Emmaus now joined the camp, and advanced to Scopos, within a mile of the city, from which all its extent could be surveyed. A level plain lay between the army and the northern wall; the Romans encamped, two legions in front, the fifteenth three stadia behind. The tenth legion now likewise arrived from Jericho, and occupied a station at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Each from his separate watch tower, Eleazar

from the summit of the Temple, John from the porticos of the outer courts, and Simon from the heights of Sion, beheld three camps forming immediately under the walls of the city. For the first time they felt the imperious necessity of concord. They entered into negotiations, and agreed on a simultaneous attack ; their mutual animosity turned to valiant emulation ; they seized their arms, and rushing along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, fell with unexpected and irresistible impetuosity upon the tenth legion at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The legionaries were at work on their intrenchments, and many of them unarmed. They fell back, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset, many were killed before they could get to their arms. Still more and more came swarming out of the city ; and the consternation of the Romans yet further multiplied their numbers. Accustomed to fight in array, they were astonished at this wild and desultory warfare ; they occasionally turned, and cut off some of the Jews, who exposed themselves in their blind fury ; but, overborne by numbers, they were on the verge of total and irreparable defeat, when Titus, who had received intelligence of the assault, with some picked men, fell as unexpectedly on the flank of the Jews, and drove them up the valley with great loss. Still the battle raged the whole day, Titus, having planted the troops who came with him in front across the valley, sent the rest to seize and fortify the upper part of the hill. The Jews mistook this movement for flight, their watchmen on the walls shook their garments violently as a signal ; it seemed as if the whole city poured forth, roaring and raging like wild beasts. The ranks of the Romans were shattered by the charge, as if by military engines they fled to the mountain. Titus was again left, with but a few followers, on the declivity. With the advantage of the ground he defended himself resolutely, and at first drove his adversaries down ;

but like waves broken by a promontory, they went rushing up on both sides, pursuing the other fugitives, or turning and raking his party on both flanks. Those on the mount, as they saw the enemy swarming up the hill, were again seized with a panic, and dispersed on all sides, until a few, horror-struck at the critical situation of their commander, by a loud outcry raised an alarm among the whole legion, and bitterly reproaching each other for their base desertion of their Cæsar, with the resolute courage of men ashamed of their flight, rallied their scattered forces, made head, and drove the Jews down the hill, into the valley. The Jews contested every foot of ground, till at length they were completely repulsed, and Titus, again having established a strong line of outposts, dismissed his wearied men to their works.

It was now the Passover, the period during which in the earlier days of Mosaic polity, or during the splendour of their monarchy, the whole people used to come up with light and rejoicing hearts to the hospitable city, where all were welcome; where every house was freely opened and without reward; and the united voices of all the sons of Abraham, blessed the Almighty for their deliverance from Egypt. Even in these disastrous days the festival retained its reverential hold upon the hearts of the people. Not merely multitudes of Jews from the adjacent districts, but even from remote quarters, were assembled to celebrate the last public Passover of the Jewish nation. Dio Cassius states that many Jews came even from beyond the Euphrates to join in the defence of the city; probably he meant those strangers who had come to the festival. These numbers only added to the miseries of the inhabitants, by consuming the stores, and hastening the general distress and famine. Yet, even the day of sacrifice was chosen by John of Gischala, for an *act of treachery and bloodshed.* When Eleazar

opened the gates of the court to admit the worshippers, some of John's most desperate adherents, without having performed their ablutions, (Josephus adds this as a great aggravation of the crime,) stole in among the rest with their swords under their cloaks. No sooner were they within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshippers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar's Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the Temple. The multitude cowered around the altar, some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity—others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partisans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding places even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

In the mean time, Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The whole plain from Scopos to the outward wall was levelled. The blooming gardens, with their bubbling fountains, and cool water-courses, in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had enjoyed sweet hours of delight and recreation, were ruthlessly swept away. The trees, now in their spring flower, fell before the axe, the landmarks were thrown down, the water-courses destroyed: even the deep and shady glens were levelled and filled up with the masses of rugged and picturesque rocks which used to overshadow them. A broad and level road led from Scopos to the tomb of Herod, near the pool of Serpents.

While this work was proceeding, one day, a considerable body of the Jews was seen to come, as if

driven out, from the gate near the tower of the Women. They stood cowering under the walls, as if dreading the attack of the Romans. It seemed as if the peace party had expelled the fiercer insurgents, for many at the same time were seen upon the walls, holding out their right hands in token of surrender, and making signs that they would open the gates. At the same time they began to throw down stones on those without; the latter appeared at one moment to endeavour to force their way back, and to supplicate the mercy of those on the walls; at another to advance towards the Romans, and then retreat as if in terror. The unsuspecting soldiers were about to charge in a body, but the more wary Titus ordered them to remain in their position. A few, however, who were in front of the workmen, seized their arms and advanced towards the gates. The Jews fled, till their pursuers were so close to the gates, as to be within the flanking towers. They then turned, others sallied forth and surrounded the Romans, while those on the walls heaped down stones and every kind of missile on their heads. After suffering great loss in killed and wounded, some of them effected their retreat, and were pursued by the Jews to the monument of Helena. The Jews, not content with their victory, stood and laughed at the Romans for having been deceived by so simple a stratagem, clashed their shields, and assailed them with every ludicrous and opprobrious epithet. Nor was this the worst; they were received with stern reproof by their tribunes, and Cæsar himself addressed them in the language of the strongest rebuke: "The Jews," he said, "who have no leader but despair, do every thing with the utmost coolness and precaution, lay ambushes, and plot stratagems; while the Romans, who used to enslave fortune by their steady discipline, are become so rash and disorderly, as to venture into battle without command." He then threatened, and was

actually about to put into execution, the military law, which punished such a breach of order with death—had not the other troops surrounded him, entreating mercy for their fellow-soldiers, and pledging themselves to redeem the blow by their future regularity and discipline. Caesar was with difficulty appeased.

The approach to the city was now complete, and the army took up a position along the northern and western wall. They were drawn up, the foot in front, seven deep, the horse behind, three deep, with the archers between them. The Jews were thus effectually blockaded; and the beasts of burthen, which carried the baggage, came up to the camp in perfect security. Titus himself encamped about a quarter of a mile from the wall near the tower Psephina; another part of the army near the tower called Hippicus, at the same distance; the tenth legion kept its station near the Mount of Olives.

Jerusalem at this period was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines; there it had but but one. Not that these walls stood one within the other, each in a narrower circle running round the whole city; but each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided—or it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Sion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the upper city; but in addition, first the hill of Moriah was taken in, on which the Temple stood; then Aera, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up, and the top of Aera levelled by the Asmonœan princes, so that Aera and Moriah were united, though on the side of Aera the Temple presented a formidable front, connected by several

bridges or causeways with the lower city. To the south the height of Sion, the upper city, was separated from the lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropœon or the valley of the Cheesemongers; at the edge of this ravine, on both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one place. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.

The first or outer wall encompassed Bezetha. Agrippa the First had intended, as it has been mentioned, to make this wall of extraordinary strength; but he had desisted from the work on the interference of the Romans; who seem to have foreseen that this refractory city would hereafter force them to take arms against it. Had this wall been built according to the plan of Agrippa, the city, in the opinion of Josephus, would have been impregnable. This wall began at the tower Hippicos, which stood, it seems, on a point at the extreme corner of Mount Sion: it must have crossed the western mouth of the valley of Tyropœa, and run directly north to the tower of Psephina, proved clearly by D'Anville to have been what was called during the crusades Castel Pisano. The wall then bore towards the monument of Helena, ran by the royal caverns to the Fuller's monument, and was carried into the valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat, where it joined the old or inner wall under the Temple. The wall, however it fell short of Agrippa's design, was of considerable strength. The stones were 35 feet long, so solid as not easily to be shaken by battering engines, or undermined. The wall was $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. It had only been carried to the same height by Agrippa, but it had been hastily run up by the Jews to 35 feet; on its top stood battlements $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and pinnacles $5\frac{3}{4}$; so the whole was nearly 45 feet high.

The second wall began at a gate in the old or inner one, called Gennath, the gate of the gardens; it intersected the lower city, and having struck northward for some distance, turned to the east and joined the north-west corner of the tower of Antonia. The Antonia stood at the north-west corner of the Temple, and was separated from Bezetha by a deep ditch, which probably protected the whole northern front of the Temple, as well as of the Antonia.

The old or inner wall was that of Sion. Starting from the south-western porticoes of the Temple, to which it was united, it ran along the ridge of the Tyropœon, passed first the Xystus, then the council house, and abutted on the tower Hippicus from whence the northern wall sprang. The old wall then ran southward through Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, all along the ridge of the valley of Hinnom, above the pool of Siloam, then eastward again to the pool of Solomon, so on through Ophla, probably a deep glen: it there joined the eastern portico of the Temple. Thus there were, it might seem, four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege. The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha, the fortifications of the northern part of the Temple, the Antonia, and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced only a part of the lower city was won; the strong rock-built citadel of Antonia and the Temple on one hand, and Sion on the other, were not in the least weakened.

The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were 35 feet broad, and 35 high; but above this height, were lofty chambers, and above those again upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain-water. Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, fourteen in the second, and **sixty** in the third. The intervals between the

towers were about 350 feet. The whole circuit of the city according to Josephus was 33 stadia—rather more than four miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was $122\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judæa, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea: it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower Hippicus, and following the old wall, stood those of Phasaelis and Mariamne, built by Herod, and named after his wife and his brother and friend. These were stupendous even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square; $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet each way. The whole height of the tower was 140 feet, the tower itself $52\frac{1}{2}$, a deep tank or reservoir 35, two stories of chambers $42\frac{3}{4}$, battlements and pinnacles $8\frac{3}{4}$. Phasaelis was a solid square of 70 feet. It was surrounded by a portico $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks, and above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty chambers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest with battlements and pinnacles, so that its whole weight was above 167 feet. It looked from a distance like the tall pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up; it was built of solid wall 35 feet high, and the same width: on the whole, with the upper chambers, it was about $76\frac{3}{4}$ high. These lofty towers appeared still higher from their situation. They were built on the old wall, which ran along the steep brow of Sion. The masonry was perfect: they were built of white marble, cut in blocks 35 feet long, $17\frac{1}{2}$ wide, $8\frac{1}{4}$ high, so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its impregnable strength, with still greater wonder and admiration at its unexam-

pled magnificence. For within these towers stood the palace of the kings, of the most extraordinary size and splendour. It was surrounded by a wall 35 feet high, which was adorned by towers at equal distances, and by spacious barrack-rooms with 100 beds in each. It was paved with every variety of rare marble; timbers of unequalled length and workmanship supported the roofs. The chambers were countless, adorned with all kinds of figures, the richest furniture, and vessels of gold and silver. There were numerous cloisters, of columns of different orders, the squares within of beautiful verdure; around were groves and avenues, with fountains and tanks, and bronze statues pouring out the water. There were likewise large houses for tame doves. Much of this magnificence however had already run to waste and ruin, during the conflict within the city. The beautiful gardens were desolate, the chambers plundered. A fire, that originated in the Antonia, had crossed over to the palace and injured a considerable part, even the roofs of the three towers.

The fortress Antonia stood alone on a high and precipitous rock near 90 feet high, at the north-west corner of the Temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than five feet high. The fortress was 70 feet in height. It had every luxury and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at the corner: three of them between 80 and 90 feet high: that at the corner next to the Temple above 120. From this the whole Temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloisters or porticoes of the Temple, in

which during the Roman government the r guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the Temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendour of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus the esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side.* Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone, the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than 300 cubits, 525 feet; but their whole height was not seen excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were 70 feet square.

On this gigantic foundation ran on each front a strong and lofty wall without, within a spacious double portico or cloister 52½ feet broad, supported by 162 columns, which supported a cedar ceiling of the most exquisite workmanship. The pillars were entire blocks hewn out of solid marble, of dazzling whiteness, 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ high. On the south side the portico or cloister was triple.

This quadrangle had but one gate to the east, one to the north, two to the south, four to the west; one of these led to the palace, one to the city, one at the corner to the Antonia, one down towards the gardens.

The open courts were paved with various inlaid marbles. Between this outer court of the Gentiles, and the second court of the Israelites, ran rails of stone, but of beautiful workmanship, rather more

* D'Anville, from an estimate of the present area of the hill, is inclined to suppose that the whole ought to be nearly ten instead of six stadia.

than five feet high. Along these, at regular intervals, stood pillars with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; warning all strangers and Jews who were unclean, from entering into the Holy Court beyond. An ascent of 14 steps led to a terrace $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, beyond which arose the wall of the Inner Court. This wall appeared on the outside 70 feet, on the inside $43\frac{1}{2}$; for besides the ascent of 14 steps to the terrace, there were five more up to the gates.* The Inner Court had no gate or opening to the west, but four on the north, and four on the south, two to the east, one of which was for the women, for whom a part of the Inner Court was set apart—and beyond which they might not advance; to this they had access likewise by one of the northern, and one of the southern gates, which were set apart for their use. Around this court ran another splendid range of porticoes or cloisters; the columns were quite equal in beauty and workmanship, though not in size, to those of the outer portico. Nine of these gates, or rather gateway towers, were richly adorned with gold and silver, on the doors, the door-posts, and the lintels. The doors of each of the nine gates were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and half that breadth. Within, the gateways were $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and deep, with rooms on each side, so that the whole looked like lofty towers: the height from the base to the summit was 70 feet. Each gateway had two lofty pillars 21 feet in circumference. But that which excited the greatest admiration was the tenth, usually called the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. It was of Corinthian brass of the finest workmanship. The height of

* In the brief description of the Temple of Solomon in the former volume of this work, it was said that a wall and *cloister* divided the court of the priests from that of the Israelites. This was Calmet's view, but it is probable that in this respect the second Temple accurately represented the distribution of the first. And it is quite clear that the plans of Prideaux and Lightfoot alone can be reconciled with historical facts.

the Beautiful Gate was $87\frac{1}{2}$, its doors 70 feet. The father of Tiberius Alexander had sheeted these gates with gold and silver; his apostate son was to witness their ruin by the plundering hands and fiery torches of his Roman friends. Within this quadrangle there was a farther separation, a low wall which divided the priests from the Israelites: near this stood the great brazen altar. Beyond, the Temple itself reared its glittering front. The great porch or Propyleon, according to the design of the last, or Herod's Temple, extended to a much greater width than the Temple itself; in addition to the former width of 105 feet, it had two wings of 35 each, making in the whole 175. The great gate of this last quadrangle, to which there was an ascent of twelve steps, was called that of Nicanor. The gateway tower was $132\frac{1}{2}$ high, $43\frac{1}{2}$ wide; it had no doors, but the frontispiece was covered with gold, and through its spacious arch was seen the golden gate of the Temple glittering with the same precious metal, with large plates of which it was sheeted all over. Over this gate hung the celebrated golden vine. This extraordinary piece of workmanship had bunches, according to Josephus, as large as a man. The Rabbins add, that, "like a true natural vine, it grew greater and greater; men would be offering, some, gold to make a leaf; some a grape, some a bunch: and these were hung up upon it, and so it was increasing continually."

The Temple itself, excepting in the extension of the wings of the Propyleon, was probably the same in its dimensions and distribution with that of Solomon. It contained the same holy treasures, if not of equal magnificence, yet by the zeal of successive ages, the frequent plunder, to which it had been exposed, was constantly replaced; and within, the golden candlestick spread out its flowering branches, the golden table supported the show-bread, and the altar of incense flamed with its costly perfume.

The roof of the Temple had been set all over on the outside with sharp golden spikes, to prevent the birds from settling, and defiling the roof; and the gates were still sheeted with plates of the same splendid metal. At a distance, the whole Temple looked literally like “a mount of snow, fretted with golden pinnacles.”

Looking down upon its marble courts, and on the Temple itself, when the sun arose above the Mount of Olives, which it directly faced, it was impossible, even for a Roman, not to be struck with wonder, or even for a stoic, like Titus, not to betray his emotion. Yet this was the city, which in a few months was to lie a heap of undistinguished ruins; and the solid Temple itself, which seemed built for eternity, not “to have one stone left upon another.”

Surveying all this, Titus, escorted by a strong guard of horse, rode slowly round the city; but it thoughts of mercy occasionally entered into a heart, the natural humanity of which seems to have been steeled during the whole course of the siege, the Jews were sure to expel them again, by some new indication of their obstinate ferocity. As he passed along, Niconor, an intimate friend of the emperor, was so imprudent as to venture near the walls with Josephus, to parley with the besieged; he was answered by an arrow through the right shoulder. Titus immediately ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, and all the trees to be cut down to make his embankments. He determined to direct his attack against the part of the outer wall, which was the lowest, on account of the buildings of Bezethre not reaching up to it, near the tomb of John the High Priest. As the approaches were made, and the day of assault was visibly drawing near, the people began to have some cessation of their miseries, as their worst enemies, those within the gates, were employed against the Romans; and they looked

forward to a still further release when the Romans should force the city.

Simon, it has been before stated, had 10,000 of his own men, and 5,000 Idumeans; John 6,000; 2,400 remained under the command of Eleazar. The cautious John would not venture forth himself from his lair in the Temple, not from want of valour or animosity against the enemy, but from a suspicion of Simon; but his men went forth to fight in the common cause. The more open and indefatigable Simon was never at rest: he mounted all the military engines, taken from Cestius, on the walls; but they did little damage, as his men wanted skill and practice to work them. But they harassed the Roman workmen, by stones and missiles from the walls, and by perpetual sallies. Under their pent-houses of wicker work, the Romans laboured diligently; the tenth legion distinguished itself, and having more powerful engines, both for the discharge of arrows and of stones, than the others, not merely repelled those who sallied, but threw stones, the weight of a talent, a distance of two furlongs, upon the walls. The Jews set men to watch the huge rocks, which came thundering down upon their heads. They were easily visible from their extreme whiteness, (this, it seems, must have been by night,) the watchmen shouted aloud in their native tongue, *The bolt is coming;* on which they all bowed their heads, and avoided the blow. The Romans found out this, and blackened the stones, which, now taking them unawares, struck down and crushed not merely single men, but whole ranks. Night and day the Romans toiled; night and day, by stratagem and force, the Jews impeded their progress. When the works were finished, the engineers measured the space to the walls with lead and line, thrown from the engines, for they dared not approach nearer. Having first advanced the engines, which discharged stones and arrows, nearer

the wall, so as to cover the engineers, Titus ordered the rams to play. At three different places they began their thundering work ; the besieged answered with shouts, but shouts of terror. It became evident that nothing less than a united effort could now repel the foe. Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers, who would descend to man the wall. John, though still suspicious, did not oppose their going ; so the two parties fought side by side from the walls with emulous valour, striving to set the engines on fire, by discharging combustibles from above ; others sallied forth in troops, tore the defences from the engines, and killed the engineers. Titus, on his side, was indefatigable ; he posted horsemen and bowmen in the intervals between the machines, to repel the assailants. So the formidable machines, called Helepoleis, the takers of cities, pursued undisturbed their furious battering. At length a corner tower came down, but the walls stood firm, and offered no practicable breach.

Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews seemed on a sudden to desist from their furious sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and intrenchments. Suddenly, through an unperceived gate, near the tower Hippicus, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on to the edge of the intrenchments. The Romans gathered hastily but Jewish valour prevailed over Roman discipline. The besiegers were put to flight, and then a terrible conflict took place about the engines, which had all been fired, but for the manful resistance of some Alexandrians, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest at length sullenly retreated. One Jew was taken prisoner, and crucified—the first instance of that unjustifiable barbarity—before the

walls. John, the captain of the Idumeans, was shot by an Arab, during a parley with a Roman soldier; he was a man of courage and prudence, and his death was greatly lamented. Exhausted with the conflict of the day, the Roman army retired to repose. There was a total silence throughout the vast camp, broken only by the pacing of the sentinel; when suddenly a tremendous crash seemed to shake the earth, and the crumbling noise of falling stones continued for a few moments. The Legionaries started to arms, and, half naked, looked through the dim night, expecting every instant to see the gleaming swords and furious faces of their enemies glaring upon them. All was still and motionless. They stood gazing upon each other, and hastily passed the word; and as their own men began to move about, they mistook them for the enemy, and were well nigh seized with a panic flight. The presence of Titus reassured them, and the cause of the alarm soon became known. They had built three towers upon their embankment, nearly ninety feet high; one of them had fallen with its own weight, and given rise to the confusion.

These towers did the most fatal damage to the Jews. Beyond the range of arrows from their height, from their weight they were not to be overthrown, and being plated with iron, would not take fire. From the tops of these the men showered continually every kind of missile, till at length the defenders retired from the walls, and left the battering engines to perform their work undisturbed. There was one of these Helepoleis, or battering engines, called by the Jews themselves Nico, the Victorious, for it beat down every thing before it. Nico did not cease to thunder day and night, till at length the wall began to totter. The Jews, exhausted by fatigue, and harassed with passing the night far from their own houses within the city, began to grow careless and indifferent about the suburb; and at once, abandon-

ing their posts, retreated to the second wall. The Romans entered Bezetha, and threw down a great part of the wall. Titus took up a position, near what was called the Camp of the Assyrians, stretching as far as the brook Cedron, and he immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here the conflict became more terrible than ever: the party of John defended the Antonia and the northern cloister of the temple; that of Simon, the rest of the wall to a gate, through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms—the Jews from fear of leaving their walls defenceless—the Romans, in constant dread of a surprise. At dawn, the battle began again: on the one hand, Simon acted the part of a most gallant commander, and his influence and example excited his men to the most daring exploits; on the other, the desire of speedily putting an end to the war; the confidence in their own superior discipline; the assurance that the Roman arms were irresistible; the pride of their first success; above all, the presence of Titus, kept up the stubborn courage of the assailants. Longinus, a Roman knight, greatly distinguished himself, by charging singly into a whole squadron of the Jews; he killed two men, and came safely off. But the Jews were entirely reckless of their own lives, and sacrificed them readily if they could but kill one of their enemies. Before long, the great Helepolis began to thunder against the central tower of the wall. The defenders fled in terror, except a man named Castor, and ten others. At first, these men lay quiet; but as the tower began to totter above their heads, they rose, and stretched out their hands supplication. Castor called on

Titus by name, and entreated mercy. Titus ordered the shocks of the engine, and the discharge of arrows, to cease, and gave Castor permission to speak. Castor expressed his earnest desire to surrender, to which Titus replied, that he would the whole city were of the same mind, and inclined honourably to capitulate. Five of Castor's men appeared to take his part; the other five, with savage cries, to reproach them for their dastardly baseness. A fierce quarrel seemed to ensue; in the mean time, the attack was entirely suspended, and Castor sent secret notice to Simon, that he would amuse the emperor some time longer. In the mean time, he appeared to be earnestly expostulating with the opposite party, who stood upon the breastworks, brandishing their swords; and at length, striking their own bosoms, seemingly fell dead. The Romans, who did not see very distinctly from below, were amazed at what they supposed the desperate resolution of the men, and even pitied their fate. In the mean time, Castor was wounded in the nose by an arrow, which he drew out, and showed it indignantly to Cæsar, as if he had been ungenerously treated. Titus sternly rebuked the man who had shot it, and desired Josephus to go forward and parley with Castor. But Josephus knew his countrymen too well, and declined the service. Upon this, one Æneas, a deserter, offered his services. Castor called him to come near to catch some money, which he wished to throw down. Æneas opened the folds of his robe to receive it, and Castor immediately levelled a huge stone at his head; it missed Æneas, but wounded a soldier near him. Cæsar, furious at having been thus tricked, ordered the engines to be worked more vigorously than ever. Castor and his men set the tower on fire, and when it was blazing, appeared to leap boldly into the flames; in fact, they had thrown themselves into a subterraneous passage, which led into the city.

The fifth day the Jews retreated from the second wall, and Titus entered that part of the lower city, which was within it, with 1000 picked men. The streets of the wool sellers, the braziers, and the clothiers, led obliquely to the wall.

Instead of throwing down the walls and burning as he went on, Titus, with a view of gaining the people, issued orders that no houses should be set on fire, and no massacre committed. He gave out, that he was desirous of separating the cause of the people from that of the garrison, that to the former he would readily restore all their property. The fierce insurgents hailed this as a sign of weakness, threatened all the people with instant death if they stirred, slew without mercy every one who uttered a word about peace, and then fell furiously on the Romans. Some fought on the houses, some from the walls; some along the narrow streets; others sallying from the upper gates fell on the camp behind. The guards who were upon the walls leaped down, and totally abandoned their companions within the newly conquered part of the city. All was confusion; those who reached the wall were surrounded, and looked in vain for succour from their associated without, who had enough to do to defend their own camp. The Jews increased every instant in numbers, they knew every lane and alley of the city, they appeared on every side, and started up where they were the least expected. The Romans could not retreat, for the narrowness of the breach would only allow them to retire very slowly. Titus, at last, came to their assistance, and by placing archers at the ends of the lanes and streets, kept the assailants back, and at last brought off most of his men, but they had totally lost the fruits of their victory.

This success raised the spirits of the besieged to the highest pitch of elevation; they thought that whenever the Romans should venture again into the

streets, if indeed they would be rash enough to do so, they would be repelled with the same loss and disgrace. But they thought not of the secret malady which was now beginning to sap their own strength—the want of provisions. As yet, indeed, though many were absolutely perishing with hunger, as these were only the disaffected populace, they rather rejoiced at being rid of the burthen, than deplored the loss. As for the breach, they manned it boldly, and made a wall of their own bodies, fighting for three days without intermission. On the fourth they were forced to retire, and Titus, entering the wall a second time, threw down the whole northern part of it, and strongly garrisoned the towers towards the south.

Two walls had fallen, but still the precipitous heights of Sion, the impregnable Antonia and the stately Temple, lowered defiance on the invaders. Titus determined to suspend the siege for a few days, in order to allow time for the terror of his conquests to operate on the minds of the besieged, and for the slow famine to undermine their strength and courage. He employed the time in making a magnificent review of all his troops, who were to receive their pay in view of the whole city. The troops defiled slowly in their best attire, with their arms taken out of their cases and their breastplates on; the cavalry leading their horses, accoutred in their most splendid trappings. The whole suburbs gleamed with gold and silver. The Romans beheld the spectacle with pride, the Jews with consternation. The whole length of the old wall, the northern cloisters of the Temple, every window, every roof was crowded with heads, looking down, some with stern and scowling expressions of hate and defiance others, in undisguised terror, some emaciated with famine, others heated with intemperance. The sight might have appalled the boldest; but the insurgents knew that they had offended too deeply to

trust to Roman mercy, and that nothing remained but still to contend with the stubborn obstinacy of desperation. For four days this procession continued defiling beneath the walls; on the fifth, as no overtures for capitulation were made, Titus gave orders to recommence the siege: one part of the army was employed to raise embankments against the Antonia, where John and his followers fought; the rest against the monument of John the High Priest, on part of the wall defended by Simon. The Jews had now learned, by long practice, the use of their military engines, and plied them from their heights with tremendous effect. They had 300 scorpions, for the discharge of darts; and 40 ballistas, which threw enormous stones. Titus used every means to induce them to surrender, and sent Josephus to address them in their native language. Josephus with some difficulty found a place from whence he might be heard, and, at the same time, be out of arrow-shot. Whether his prudence marred the effect of his oratory or not, by his own statement, he addressed to them a long harangue. He urged their own interest in the preservation of the city and Temple, the unconquerable power of the Romans, their mercy in offering terms of capitulation, and he dwelt on the famine which had begun to waste their strength. Neither the orator himself, nor his topics, were very acceptable to the fierce zealots. They scoffed at him, reviled him, and hurled their darts against his head. Josephus then reverted to the ancient history of the nation: he urged that the Jewish people had never yet relied on such defenders, but ever on their God. Such was the trust of Abraham, who did not resist, when Necho, the Pharaoh of Egypt, took away his wife Sarah! The orator seems here to have reckoned on the ignorance of his audience. He then recounted first the great deliverances, then the great calamities of the nation, and proceeded in a strain of vehe-

ment invective, little calculated to excite any thing but furious indignation in the minds of the zealots.* They, as might be expected, were only more irritated. The people, by his account, were touched by his expostulations; probably their miseries and the famine argued more powerfully to their hearts: they began to desert in numbers. Some sold their property at the lowest price, others swallowed their more valuable articles, gold and jewels, and when they fled to the Romans, unloaded themselves of their precious burthens. Titus allowed them to pass unmolested. The news of their escape excited many others to follow their example, though John and Simon watched every outlet of the city, and executed without mercy all they suspected of a design to fly. This too was a convenient charge, by which they could put to death as many of the more wealthy as they chose.

In the mean time, the famine increased, and with the famine the desperation of the insurgents. No grain was exposed for public sale; they forced open and searched the houses; if they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal; if none was discovered, they tortured them with greater cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings were the marks by which they judged whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment: they passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses devoured it unground; others made bread, snatched it half-baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. The

* Josephus even appealed to miracles wrought in favour of the Romans; he asserted that the fountain of Siloam, and other water springs, which had failed entirely while they were in the power of the Jews, no sooner came into the possession of the Romans, than they began to flow abundantly.

misery of the weaker was aggravated by seeing the plenty of the stronger. Every kind feeling--love--respect--natural affection--were extinct through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. Even the most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they burst in, and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and the throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately; and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they hid. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled around and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers, by swallowing every atom, were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which cannot be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf, or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food, with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion at least might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed as well as pillaged.

Such were the cruelties exercised on the lower orders by the satellites of the tyrants; the richer and more distinguished were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of trea-

sonable correspondence with the Romans; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John; he that had been stripped by John was sent to Simon; so, by turns they, as it were, shared the bodies, and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies; their common crimes united them in friendship. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some flagrant cruelty; and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

The blood runs cold, and the heart sickens, at these unexampled horrors; and we take refuge in a kind of desperate hope that they have been exaggerated by the historian; those which follow, perpetrated under his own eyes by his Roman friends, and justified under the all-extenuating plea of necessity, admit of no such reservation—they must be believed in their naked and unmitigated barbarity. Many poor wretches, some few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night to pick up whatever might have served for food. They would, most of them, willingly have deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these, Titus laid men in ambush; when attacked, they defended themselves; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified before the walls; and in the morning, sometimes 500, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on crosses before the walls. This was done, because it was thought unsafe to let them escape, and to terrify the rest. The soldiers added ridicule to their cruelty; they would place the bodies in all sorts of ludicrous postures; and this went on till room was wanting for the crosses and crosses for the bodies.

These executions produced a contrary effect to that which was contemplated. The zealots dragged the relatives of the deserters, and all they suspected

as inclined towards peace, up to the walls, and bade them behold those examples of Roman mercy. This checked the desertion, excepting in those who thought it better to be killed at once than to die slowly of hunger. Titus sent others back to Simon and John, with their hands cut off, exhorting them to capitulate, and not to force him to destroy the city and the Temple. It cannot be wondered, that as Titus went round the works, he was saluted from all parts, in contempt of the imperial dignity, with the loudest and bitterest execrations against his own name and that of his father.

At this time, a son of the king of Commagene, called Antiochus Epiphanes, a name of ominous sound to Jerusalem, joined the Roman camp with a chosen band of youths, dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion. He expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in assaulting the wall. Titus gave him free leave to make the attempt, which he did with great valour but with little success, notwithstanding his vaunting; for though he escaped, all his men were severely mutilated and wounded by the besieged.

After seventeen days' labour, on the 27th or 29th of May, the embankments were raised in four separate places; that of the fifth legion began near the pool of the Sparrows; that of the twelfth about thirty-five feet further off; that of the tenth on the north, near the pool of the Almond Trees; and that of the fifteenth on the east, near the monument of John. All was prepared; the engines mounted, and the troops stood awaiting the assault, when suddenly the whole ground between the embankments and the wall was seen to heave and roll like a sea. Presently, thick masses of smoke came curling heavily up, followed by dim and lurid flames; the whole then sank, the engines and the embankments rolled down together into the fiery abyss, and were either buried or consumed. John had under-

mined the whole, piled below an immense quantity of pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles, set fire to the wooden supports, and thus destroyed the labours of seventeen days.

The Jewish captains were rivals in valour as in guilt. Two days after, Simon, on his side, made a desperate attack on the engines, which had already begun to shake the walls. Tepthaus, a Galilean, Megassar, formerly an attendant on Mariamne, and a man of Adiabene, the son of Nebat, called Chagiras, (the lame,) rushed fiercely out, with torches in their hands. These men were the bravest as well as the most cruel of the zealots. They were not repelled till they had set fire to the Helepoleans. The Romans crowded to extinguish the fire; the Jews, from the walls, covered their men, who, though the iron of the engines was red hot, would not relax their hold. The fire spread to the other works, and the Romans, encompassed on all sides by the flames, retreated to their camp. The Jews followed up their success, and, all fury and triumph, rushed upon the trenches, and assailed the guards. By the Roman discipline it was death to desert such a post. The guards stubbornly resisted, and were killed in numbers. The scorpions and balistæ of the Romans rained a shower of mortal missiles, but the Jews, utterly regardless of defending themselves, still pushed fiercely on, swarm after swarm pouring out of the city, so that Titus, who had been absent reconnoitring the Antonia, in order to find a new spot to fix his engines, found the whole army besieged and even wavering. He charged with his men resolutely against the Jews, who turned round and faced his attack. Such was the dust and noise, that no one could see, hear, or distinguish friend from foe. The event of the contest left the Romans dispirited by the loss of their battering train, and with little hope of taking the city with the ordinary engines that remained. Titus summoned a council

of war; three plans were discussed, to storm the city immediately, to repair the works and rebuild the engines, or to blockade and starve the garrison to surrender. The last was preferred: and the whole army set to work upon the trench, each legion and each rank vying with the rest in activity. The trench ran from the "camp of the Assyrians," where Titus was encamped, to the lower part of Bezetha, along the valley of Cedron, and the ridge of the Mount of Olives, to a rock called Peristereon, at the mouth of the valley of Siloam, and a hill which hangs over Siloe, thence to the west to the valley of the Fountain, thence ascending to the sepulchre of the High Priest Ananias, round the mountain where Pompey's camp was formerly pitched, by a village called that of Erebinth, or Pulse, then turned eastward again and joined the camp; the whole work was within a furlong of five miles, it was surmounted by thirteen garrison towers, and was entirely finished in three days.

It can scarcely be doubted, but that there must have been, within the walls of Jerusalem, many so closely connected with the Christians as to be well acquainted with the prophetic warning which had induced that people to leave the fated city. With what awful force must the truth of the disbelieved or disregarded words have returned to their remembrance, when their enemies had thus literally "cast a trench about them, and compassed them round, and kept them in on every side." But the poor and the lowly would have little time to meditate even on such solemn considerations; for the instant effect of this measure was, to increase the horrors of the famine so far, that whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not strength for the melancholy duty, or, in the uncer-

tainty of their own lives, neglected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends, others crept into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sate with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died, says the historian, with their eyes still steadily fixed on the Temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their bodies; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the bodies, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rotting, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work. The Roman camp, in the mean time, was abundantly supplied; and Titus commanded timber to be brought from a distance, and recommenced his works in four places against the Antonia.

One crime remained of which the robbers had not yet been guilty, and that Simon now hastened to perpetrate. The High Priest Matthias, a man of feeble character, had passively submitted to all the usurpations of the robber leaders. He it was who admitted Simon to counterpoise the party of John. Matthias was accused, whether justly or not, of intelligence with the Romans; he was led out and executed in the sight of the Romans, with his three sons, the fourth had made his escape. The inoffensive old man only entreated that he might be

put to death first; this was denied him, and his sons were massacred before his face, by Ananus the son of Bamad, the remorseless executioner of Simon's cruelties. Ananias the son of Masambal, Aristeus the secretary of the Sanhedrin, and fifteen of its members, were put to death at the same time. The father of Josephus was thrown into prison, and all access to him strictly forbidden. Josephus himself had a narrow escape; he was struck on the head by a stone, and fell insensible. The Jews made a vigorous sally to make themselves masters of his body, but Titus sent troops to his rescue, and he was brought off, though with difficulty. The rumour of his death spread through the city, and reached his mother in her prison; his speedy appearance under the walls reassured his friends, and was quickly imparted to his afflicted parents.

The murder of the High Priest, and of the Sanhedrin, at last excited an attempt to shake off the yoke of the tyrants. One Judas, the son of Judas, conspired with ten others to betray one of the towers to the Romans. They offered to surrender it, but the Romans, naturally suspicious, hesitated. In the mean time, Simon, as vigilant as he was cruel, had discovered the plot; the conspirators were put to death in the sight of the Romans, and their bodies tumbled from the walls. Still desertion became more frequent; some threw themselves from the walls, and fled for their lives; others, under pretence of issuing forth to skirmish, got within the Roman posts. Many of these famished wretches came to a miserable end. When they obtained food, they ate with such avidity as was fatal to their enfeebled frames; few had self-control enough to accustom their stomachs by degrees to the unusual food.—Others perished from another cause. A man was seen searching his excrements for some gold which he had swallowed and voided. A report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought

off their treasures in the same manner. Some of the fierce Syrian and Arabian allies set on them and cut open their living bodies in search of gold; two thousand are said to have been killed in this way during one night. Titus was indignant at the horrid barbarity; he threatened to surround the perpetrators, and to cut down their whole squadrons. The number of offenders alone restrained him from inflicting summary justice. He denounced instant death against any one detected in such a crime: but still the love of gold was, in many instances, stronger than the dread of punishment, and that which was before done openly, was still perpetrated secretly.

John, the zealot, at this time committed an offence in the opinion of the devout Jews, even more heinous than his most horrible cruelties, that of sacrilege; he seized and melted the treasures of the Temple, and even the dishes and vessels used in the service. Probably with revengeful satisfaction, he began with the offerings of the Roman emperors. He openly declared that the holy treasures ought to assist in supporting a holy war. He distributed, also, to the famished people, the sacred wine and oil, which were used and drank with the greatest avidity. For this offence, the historian Josephus has reserved his strongest terms of horror and execration; "for such abominations, even if the Romans had stood aloof, the city would have been swallowed by an earthquake, or swept away by a deluge, or would have perished, like Sodom, in a tempest of fire and brimstone."

But by his own account, such calamities would have been as tender mercies to the present sufferings of the Jews. A deserter, who had at one time been appointed to pay for the interment of the dead at a particular gate, stated, that from the 14th of April, when the siege began, to the 1st of July, **115,880** bodies had been buried at the public charge,

or thrown from the walls, not including those interred by their friends. Others said, that 600,000 of the poorer people had perished ; that when they could no longer bury them, they shut them up in some of the larger houses, and left them there. A measure of wheat was selling for a talent, and the people were raking the very dung heaps for sustenance. Yet still, though dead bodies actually impeded the way of the defenders to the walls, and though the city, like one vast sepulchre, seemed to exhale a pestilential stench, with unbroken resolution which might have become better men, the soldiers both of John and Simon went sternly trampling over dead bodies as over the senseless pavement, and manned the walls with that wild desperation which familiarity with death is apt to engender.

The Romans, in the mean time, laboured hard at their military engines. There was great scarcity of timber ; they were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance, so that not a tree was left standing within above ten miles of the city ; all the delicious gardens, the fruitful orchards, the shady avenues, where, in their days of peace and happiness, the inhabitants of the devoted city had enjoyed the luxury of their delicious climate, the temperate days of spring, and the cool summer nights, were utterly destroyed. It was a lamentable sight to behold the whole gay and luxuriant suburban region turned to a frightful solitude.

At length, the tall and fearful engines stood again menacing the walls. Both the Jews and Romans looked at them with apprehension : the Jews, from experience of their tremendous powers ; the Romans from the conviction that if these were burned, from the total want of timber, it would be impossible to supply their places. Josephus confesses that at this period the Roman army was exhausted and dispirited ; while their desperate enemies, notwithstanding the seditions, famine, and war, were still a-

obstinately determined as ever, and went resolutely and even cheerfully forth to battle. Before the engines could be advanced against the walls, the party of John made an attempt to burn them, but without success; for their measures were ill-combined; their attack feeble and desultory. For once, the old Jewish courage seemed to fail; so that, advancing without their customary fury, and finding the Romans drawn up in disciplined array, the engines themselves striking down their most forward men, they were speedily repelled, and the Helepoleis advanced to the wall, amid showers of stones and fire, and every kind of missile. The engines began to thunder; and the assailants, though sometimes crushed by the stones that were hurled upon them from above, locked their shields over their heads, and worked at the foundation with their hands and with crow-bars, till at length they got out four large stones. Night put an end to the conflict.

During the night, the wall suddenly fell in with a terrific noise; for it happened to stand over that part which John had formerly undermined in order to destroy the enemy's engines. But when the Romans rushed, in the morning, to the breach, they found a second wall, which John, with true military foresight, had built within, in case of such an emergency. Still this wall was newly made, and comparatively weak. Titus assembled the officers of the army, and made them an energetic address; in which, among other topics, he urged the manifest intercession of Divine Providence in their favour, in the unexpected falling of the wall. They listened in silence, till at length a common soldier, a Syrian, named Sabinus, a man of great courage, but slender make, and very dark complexion, volunteered to lead a forlorn hope. He threw his shield over his head, grasped his sword, and advanced deliberately to the wall. Only eleven men had courage to follow him. Javelins, weapons of all

kinds, and huge stones, came whizzing and thundersing around him. Some of his companions were beaten down; but, though covered with darts, he still persisted in mounting, till the Jews, panic stricken at his boldness, and supposing that he was followed by many more, took to flight. He had actually reached the top of the wall, when his foot slipped, and he fell. The Jews turned and surrounded him. He rose on his knees, still made a gallant defence, wounding many of the enemy; and at length expired, buried under a thousand spears. Of the eleven, three reached the top of the wall, and were killed by stones; eight were carried back, wounded, to the camp. This was on the third of July. Two days after, at the dead of night, twenty soldiers of the guard, with a standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, crept silently up the breach, surprised and slew the watch, and gave orders to the trumpeter to blow with all his might. The rest of the sentinels, without waiting to see the number of assailants, fled in terror. Titus, directly he heard the sound of the trumpet, armed his men, and scaled the Antonia. The Jews fled on all sides, some fell into the mines which John had dug under the Roman embankments; but Simon and John, uniting all their forces, made a resolute effort to defend the entrance to the Temple. A fierce battle ensued, with spears and javelins; the troops of both parties were so mingled and confused, that no man knew where he was. The narrow passages were crowded with the dead, so that those engaged were obliged to scramble over heaps of bodies and of armour to get at each other. At length, after ten hours' hard fighting, Titus, contented with the possession of the Antonia, recalled his men. But a Bithynian centurion, named Julian, of uncommon strength and skill in the use of his weapons, sprang forward from the side of Titus, where he was standing, and singly charged the Jews with such extra-

ordinary resolution, that they fled on all sides; and Julian forced his way, committing dreadful slaughter as he went on, up to a corner of the inner court of the Temple. Unfortunately, his shoes were full of nails, and slipping upon the smooth pavement, he fell with his armour clattering around him. The fugitives turned upon him. A loud shout of terror arose from the Romans in the Antonia, answered by a fierce and exulting cry from the Jews. They surrounded the gallant Julian, and though he covered himself with his shield, and repeatedly struggled to rise, he was overpowered by numbers. Still, however, his breastplate and helmet protected the vital parts, till at length, his limbs having been hewn off, he received a mortal wound and fell dead. The Jews, to the great grief of Cæsar, dragged the body into the Temple, and again drove back the Romans into the Antonia.

It was now the 5th of July.* Titus commanded that the fortress of Antonia should be razed to the ground. He had heard that the daily sacrifice was now intermittent, from want of persons to make the offering; and understanding the deep impression made on all the Jews by the suspension of that rite, he determined to make another attempt on their religious feelings. Josephus was sent to offer free egress to John, if he would come forth to fight, that the Temple might escape defilement. Josephus placed himself so as to be heard by all the Jews, and communicated, in the Hebrew language, the offers of Titus. John replied, in language of the fiercest bitterness, imprecating curses on the head of the renegade Josephus; and concluded, that "he feared not the taking of the city, for it was the city of God." Josephus broke out into a vehement invective, but neither his words, nor the tears or

* There is here a difficulty about the day. This event is commemorated by the Jews on the 17th July, the day indicated by Josephus, but it cannot easily be reconciled with the history.

sobs by which he was interrupted, had the slightest effect on John or his soldiers; they rushed out and endeavoured to seize him. Some few, however, were moved.

There were some men of distinction, who, from time to time, had seized an opportunity of desertion. Among these were Joseph and four chief priests; three sons of Ismael the High Priest; four of Matthias; one of the other Matthias, whom Simon put to death with three of his sons. Titus had received the fugitives with kindness, promised them his protection, and sent them to Gophni. These men were sent for, and with Joseph attempted to persuade the people, if not to capitulate, at least to spare the Temple from inevitable defilement and ruin. But all in vain: the sacred gates were blocked up with balistas and catapults. The peaceful Temple, with its marble courts and gilded pinnacles, assumed the appearance of a warlike citadel. Its courts were strewn with the dead—men with swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, or even of their countrymen, rushed to and fro along the Holy place, or even the Holy of Holies. Even the Roman soldiers, it is said, shuddered at the profanation. Titus tried a last remonstrance. “You have put up a barrier,” he said, “to prevent strangers from polluting your Temple: this the Romans have always respected;—we have allowed you to put to death all who violated its precincts.—Yet ye defile it yourselves with blood and carnage. I call on your Gods—I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness, that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place: and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice.” But John and his zealots suspected (it might be with justice) the magnanimity of Titus, and would not surrender a place, the strength of which was their only trust. Perhaps they had still a fanatic confidence, that, recking as they were with

blood steeped to the lips in crime, they were still the chosen people of Jehovah; and that yet, even yet, the power which smote Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and the enemies of the Maccabees, would reveal himself in irresistible terror.

Titus, finding all his offers of mercy rejected, determined on a night attack: as the whole army could not make the assault, on account of the narrowness of the approaches, thirty men were picked from each hundred, tribunes appointed over each 1000, and Cerealis chosen to command the whole. Titus himself announced, that he would mount a watch tower which belonged to the Antonia, in order that he might witness and reward every act of individual bravery. They advanced, when night was three parts over, but found the enemy on the watch. The battle began to the advantage of the Romans, who held together in compact bodies, while the Jews attacked in small troops or singly. In the blind confusion of the night, among the bewildering shouts on all sides, many fell upon each other, and those who were repelled were mistaken for the assailants, and killed by their own men; so that the Jews lost more by their own sword than by the foe. When day dawned, the combat continued on more even terms; after eight hours contest, though the Romans were thus fighting as in a theatre, in view of the emperor, they had not gained a foot of ground; and the battle ceased, as it were, by common consent.

In the mean time, the Romans had levelled part of the Antonia, and made a broad way, by which they could bring their engines to bear upon the Temple. They erected their embankments, though with great difficulty, from the scarcity of timber, against four places of the outer court; one opposite the north-east corner of the inner court, one against a building between the two northern gates, one against the western, and another against the northern cloisters. The indefatigable Jews, in the mean time, gave them

no rest ; if the cavalry went out to forage, and let their horses loose to feed, the Jews would sally out in squadrons and surprise them. They made one desperate assault on the outposts, near the Mount of Olives, in open day ; and, but for a charge of cavalry on their flank, had almost succeeded in forcing the wall. In this contest, a horseman, named Pedanius, stooped down, caught up a Jew, with all his armour, carried him by main strength, and threw him down before the feet of Titus. Titus admired the strength of Pedanius, and ordered the captive to be put to death.

Overborne, exhausted, famine-striken, still the Jews fought, inch by inch ; and, according to the historian, sternly sacrificed, as it were, their own limbs, cutting off every foot that the enemy had taken, as if to prevent the progress of the disease. They set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the Temple, and made a breach of between twenty and thirty feet. Two days after, the Romans, in their turn, set fire to the cloister, and burned above twenty feet more. The Jews looked on calmly, and allowed the flame to spread, till the whole space between the Antonia and the Temple was cleared.

But if the holy precincts were thus to perish by fire, they determined that they should not fall unavenged. Along the whole western cloisters they filled the space between the beams and the roof with dry wood, sulphur, and bitumen ; they then retreated from the defence, as if quite exhausted. The more prudent of the assailants suspected some stratagem, but many immediately applied the scaling ladders and mounted boldly to the roof. At that instant the Jews below set fire to the train ; the flames rushed roaring and blazing up among the astonished assailants. Some flung themselves down headlong into the city, others among the enemy ; there they lay bruised to death, or with broken

limbs: many were burned alive, others fell on their own swords. In vain they looked to their companions below, in vain they beheld the sorrow of Cæsar himself, who, though they had acted without orders, commiserated their fate. Escape or succour were alike impossible; a few on the broader part of the roof fought valiantly, and died to a man with their arms in their hands. The fate of a youth, named Longinus, created general interest—the Jews offered to spare his life if he would go down and surrender; on the other hand, his brother Cornelius, from below, entreated him not to disgrace the Roman character—the youth stabbed himself to the heart. One Artorius escaped by a singular stratagem: he called to one of his comrades, and offered to leave him his whole property if he would catch him as he fell. The man came below, Artorius jumped down, crushed his friend to death in his fall, and escaped unhurt. Thus a great part of the western cloister was burned, the Romans set fire to that of the north, and laid it in ashes so far as the north east corner, near Cedron.

In the mean time, the famine continued its fearful ravages. Men would fight even the dearest friends, for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling like drunken men, from weakness: and entered and searched the same house twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food was sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leatheren coats of their shields—chopped hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet what were all these horrors to that which followed? There was a woman of Perea from the village of Bethzob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the

city. Day after day, she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No one, however, would mercifully put an end to her misery, and her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved on an expedient which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavouring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom—she seized it, cooked it, ate one half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell of food quickly reached the robbers—they forced her door, and with horrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied, with horrible indifference, that she had carefully reserved her good friends a part of her meal—she uncovered the remains of her child. The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out, with a shrill voice, “ Eat, for I have eaten—be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother—or if ye are too religious to touch such food, I have eaten half already, leave me the rest.” They retired, pale and trembling with horror—the story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp; where it was first heard with incredulity, afterward with the deepest commiseration. How dreadfully must the recollection of the words of Moses have fixed themselves upon the minds of all those Jews who were not entirely unread in their holy writings:—“ *The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter; and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.*”

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the

Romans masters of the great court of the Gentiles; on the 8th of August, the engines began to batter the eastern chambers of the Inner Court. For six previous days the largest and most powerful of the battering rams had played upon the wall; the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts; other troops at the same time endeavoured to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success; nothing therefore remained but to fix the scaling ladders, and storm the cloisters. The Jews made no resistance to their mounting the walls; but as soon as they reached the top hurled them down headlong, or slew them before they could cover themselves with their shields. In some places they thrust down the ladders, loaded with armed men, who fell back and were dashed to pieces on the pavement. Some of the standard-bearers had led the way, they also were repelled, and the Jews remained masters of the eagles. On the side of the Romans fell many distinguished soldiers; on that of the Jews, Eleazar, the nephew of Simon. Repulsed on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

In the mean time, Ananus of Emmaus, the bloody executioner of Simon, and Archelaus son of Magadat, deserted to the Romans. Titus at first intended to put them to death, but afterward relented. No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side, their courage sank, they stood gasping, motionless, and helpless; not a hand endeavoured to quench the flames, or stop the silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day, the fire went on consuming the whole range of

cloisters. Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished; and the way through the gates levelled for the advance of the legionaries. A council of war was summoned, in which the expediency of destroying the magnificent building was solemnly discussed. It consisted of six of the chief officers of the army; among the rest, of Tiberius Alexander, whose offerings had formerly enriched the splendid edifice. Three of the council insisted on the necessity of destroying for ever this citadel of a mutinous people; it was no longer a temple, but a fortress, and to be treated like a military strong-hold. Titus inclined to milder counsels; the magnificence of the building had made a strong impression upon his mind, and he was reluctant to destroy what might be considered as one of the wonders of the Roman empire. Alexander, Fronto, and Cerealis concurred in this opinion, and the soldiers were ordered to do all they could to quench the flames. But higher councils had otherwise decreed, and the Temple of Jerusalem was to be for ever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews from exhaustion and consternation remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the outer court. The legionaries locked their shields together and stood the brunt of the onset; but the Jews still came pouring forth in such overbearing multitudes, that Titus himself was forced to charge at the head of some cavalry, and with difficulty drove them back into the Temple.

It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former Temple by the king of Babylon: it was almost passed. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow

white walls, and glistening pinnacles of the Temple roof. Titus had retired to rest: when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard, and a man came rushing in, announcing that the Temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but, entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the Temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a gilded small door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or Poreh. The flames sprung up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords, with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the Temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed: he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire: his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear: they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay heaped, like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the Temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers, and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendour filled them with wonder; and as the flames had not yet penetrated to the holy place, he made a last effort to save it, and springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the progress of the conflagration

The centurion Liberalis endeavoured to force obedience with his staff of office; but even respect for the emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and to the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw every thing around them radiant with gold, which shone dazzlingly in the wild light of the flames; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door: the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat; and the noble edifice was left to its fate.

It was an appalling spectacle to the Roman—what was it to the Jew! The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in, with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame: the gilded pinnacles shone like spikes of red light: the gate towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neighbouring hills were lighted up; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction: the walls and heights of the upper city were crowded with faces, some pale with the agony of despair, others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery, as they ran to and fro, and the howlings of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied, or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights: all along the walls resounded screams and wailings: men, who were expiring with famine, rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful

than the spectacle from without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who entreated mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead, to carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first into the outer court of the Temple, afterward into the upper city. Some of the priests upon the roof wrenched off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterward they fled to a part of the wall, about fourteen feet wide: they were summoned to surrender; but two of them, Mair son of Belga, and Joseph son of Dalai, plunged headlong into the flames.

No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasuries, with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes—the plunder which the zealots had laid up—were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about 6000 unarmed and defenceless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the Temple by a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the Temple, where he would display his Almighty power to save his people. The soldiers set fire to the building: every soul perished.

For during all this time, false prophets, suborned by the zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, as though the appointed Deliverer would still appear. They could not, indeed, but remember the awful, the visible signs which had preceded the siege, the fiery sword, the armies fighting in the air; the opening of the great gate, the fearful voice within the sanctuary, “Let us depart;” the wild cry of Jesus son of Ananus—*Wo*

eo to the city, which he had continued from the government of Albinus to the time of the siege, when he suddenly stopped, shrieked out—*wo to myself*, and was struck dead by a stone. Yet the undying hopes of fierce fanaticism were kept alive by the still renewed prediction of that Great One, who would at this time arise out of Judea, and assume the dominion of the world. This prophecy the flattering Josephus declared to be accomplished in the Roman Vespasian; but more patriotic interpreters, still, to the last, expected to see it fulfilled in the person of the conquering Messiah, who would reveal himself in the darkest hour, wither the Roman legions with one word, and then transfer the seat of empire from the Capitol to Sion.

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins; they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus as emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy, emaciated with hunger, came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterward the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered, that the hour of mercy was passed; they were led to execution.

Still the upper city held out; but Simon and John, disheartened by the capture of the Temple, demanded a conference. It was granted, and Titus, stationing himself at the western verge of the hill, addressed them through an interpreter. He offered to spare their lives on the condition of instant surrender. John and Simon demanded free egress

with their wives and children, promising to evacuate the city, and depart into the wilderness. The terms were rejected, and Titus vowed the unsparing extermination of the whole people; his troops had immediate license to plunder and burn Aera. The archives, the council house, the whole of Aera and Ophla were instantly set on fire. The insurgents took possession of the palace, where, from its strength, the people had laid up much of their wealth; they drove the Romans back, and put to death 8,400 of the people who had taken refuge there, and plundered all the treasures; they took two Roman soldiers alive. One they put to death and dragged his body through the city. The other, pretending to have something to communicate to Simon, was led before him, but as he had nothing to say, he was made over to one Ardala to be put to death. He was led forth with his hands bound, and his eyes bandaged, to be killed in sight of the Romans, but while the Jew was drawing his sword, he contrived to make his escape. Titus, unwilling to punish him with death after he had thus escaped, but wishing to show that it was unworthy of a Roman soldier to be taken alive, had him stripped of his armour, and dismissed him with disgrace. The next day the Romans entirely cleared the lower city, and set the whole on fire. The insurgents cooped up in the upper city, lay in ambush near the outlets, and slew every one who attempted to desert. Their great trust was in the subterranean passages, in which they hoped to lie hid.

On the 20th of August, Cæsar at length raised his mounds against the steep cliffs of the upper city; he had the greatest difficulty in obtaining timber. But at last his works were ready in two places, one opposite the palace, the other near the Xystus. The Idumean chieftains now endeavoured secretly to make their terms. Titus reluctantly consented; but the vigilant John detected the plot, threw the

leaders into prison, and intrusted the defence of the wall to more trusty soldiers. Still the guards could not prevent desertion; though many were killed, yet many escaped. The Romans, weary of the work of slaughter, spared the people, but sold all the rest as slaves; though they bore but a low price, the market being glutted, and few purchasers found—40,000 were thus spared, the number sold as slaves was incalculable. About the same time, a priest, named Jesus son of Thebuth, obtained his life on condition of surrendering some of the treasures of the Temple which he had secured, two candlesticks, tables, goblets, and vessels of pure gold, as well as the curtains and the robes of the High Priests. Another, who had been one of the treasurers, showed a place where the vests and girdles of the priests were concealed, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet thread, and an immense store of cinnamon, cassia, and other spices.

Eighteen days elapsed before the works were completed; on the seventh of September, the engines were advanced to batter down the last bulwark of the besieged. Some did not await the conflict but crept down into the lower city, others shrunk into the subterranean passages, others more manfully endeavoured to beat down the engineers. The Romans advanced in the pride of victory, the Jews were weary, famine-stricken, disheartened. A breach was speedily made, some of the towers fell, the leaders did not display their customary valour and conduct; they fled on all sides. Some who were accustomed to vaunt the most loudly, now stood pale, trembling, inactive; others endeavoured to break through the Roman works and make their escape. Vague rumours were spread abroad that the whole western wall had fallen, that the Romans were in the city; the men looked around for their wonted leaders; they neither saw their active figures hurrying about in the thickest of the fray, nor heard

their voices exciting them to desperate resistance. Many threw themselves on the ground and bitterly lamented their fate. Even John and Simon, instead of remaining in their three impregnable towers, where nothing but famine could have reduced them, descended into the streets, and fled into the valley of Siloam. They then made an attempt to force their way through the wall; but their daring and strength seemed alike broken, they were repulsed by the guard, dispersed, and at length crept down into the subterranean vaults. The Romans ascended the wall with shouts of triumph at a victory so much beyond all hope, easy and bloodless; they spread through the streets slaying and burning as they went. In many houses where they expected rich plunder, they found nothing but heaps of putrid bodies, whole families who had died of hunger; they retreated from the loathsome sight and insufferable stench. But they were not moved to mercy towards the living; in some places the flames were actually retarded or quenched with streams of blood: night alone put an end to the carnage. When Titus entered the city, he gazed with astonishment at the massy towers, and recognised the hand of God in a victory which had thus made him master of such fortresses without a struggle. The multitudes of prisoners who pined in the dungeons, where they had been thrown by the insurgents, were released. The city was ordered to be razed excepting the three towers, which were left as standing monuments of the victory.

The soldiers themselves were weary of the work of slaughter, and orders were issued to kill only those who resisted. Yet the old and infirm, as unsaleable, were generally put to death. The rest were driven into a space of the Temple, called the Court of the Women. There a selection was made; the noted insurgents were put to death, excepting some of the tallest and most handsome, who were reserved

to grace the triumph of Titus. Of the rest, all above seventeen years old were sent to Egypt to work in the mines, or distributed among the provinces to be exhibited as gladiators in the public theatres, and in combats against wild beasts. Twelve thousand died of hunger—part from want or neglect of supplies, part obstinately refusing food. During the whole siege, the number killed was 1,100 000, that of prisoners 97,000. In fact, the population, not of Jerusalem alone, but that of the adjacent districts—many who had taken refuge in the city, more who had assembled for the feast of unleavened bread—had been shut up by the sudden formation of the siege.

Yet the chief objects of their vengeance, the dauntless Simon son of Gioras, and John the Gischalite, still seemed to baffle all pursuit. The Roman soldiers penetrated into the subterranean caverns; wherever they went they found incalculable treasures, and heaps of dead bodies—some who had perished from hunger, others from their wounds, many by their own hands. The close air of the vaults reeked with the pestilential effluvia: most recoiled from these pits of death; the more rapacious went on, breathing death for the sake of plunder. At length, reduced by famine, John and his brethren came forth upon terms of surrender; his life was spared—a singular instance of lenity, if indeed his conduct had been so atrocious as it is described by his rival Josephus. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and finally sent to Italy.

Many days after, towards the end of October, when Titus had left the city, as some of the Roman soldiers were reposing amid the ruins of the Temple, they were surprised by the sudden apparition of a man in white raiment, and with a robe of purple, who seemed to rise from the earth in silent and imposing dignity. At first they stood awe-struck and motionless: at length they ventured to approach him; they encircled him, and demanded his name

He answered, “Simon the son of Gioras ; call hither your general.” Terentius Rufus was speedily summoned, and to him the brave, though cruel, defender of Jerusalem surrendered himself. On the loss of the city, Simon had leaped down into one of the vaults, with a party of miners, hewers of stone, and iron workers. For some distance they had followed the natural windings of the cavern, and then attempted to dig their way out beyond the walls ; but their provisions, however carefully husbanded, soon failed, and Simon determined on the bold measure of attempting to overawe the Romans by his sudden and spectral appearance. News of his capture was sent to Titus ; he was ordered to be set apart for the imperial triumph.

Thus fell, and for ever, the metropolis of the Jewish state. Other cities have risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, and succeeded, as it were, to the inalienable inheritance of perpetual siege, oppression, and ruin. Jerusalem might almost seem to be a place under a peculiar curse ; it has probably witnessed a far greater portion of human misery than any other spot upon the earth.

Terentius Rufus, or Turnus Rufus, (as his name appears in the Rabbinical traditions, ever coupled with the most rancorous expressions of hatred, and confounded with the no less obnoxious T. Annius Rufus, the governor of Judea in the time of Hadrian,) executed the work of desolation, of which he was left in charge, with unrelenting severity. Of all the stately city—the populous streets, the palaces of the Jewish kings, the fortresses of her warriors, the Temple of her God—not a ruin remained, except the tall towers of Phasaelis, Marianne and Hippicus, and part of the western wall, which was left as a defence for the Roman camp. Titus, having distributed praises and rewards to his army, and offered sacrifice to his gods, had departed. Wherever he went, miserable gangs of captives

were dragged along, to glut the eyes and ears of the conquerors by their sufferings in those horrible spectacles, which are the eternal disgrace of the Roman character. At Caesarea Philippi, 2,500 were slain in cold blood, either in combats with wild beasts, or fighting as bands of gladiators. This was in honour of the birthday of his brother Domitian—an appropriate celebration for such an event. Vespasian's birthday was also commemorated at Berytus with the same horrible festivities. One act of mercy alone, towards the Jewish race, marked the journey of Titus. The inhabitants of Antioch, incited by a Jewish apostate Antiochus, the son of the first man among the Jews in the city, had cruelly persecuted his brethren. This apostate had accused his kindred of a design of setting fire to the whole city. For this, many were burned alive, and the whole community threatened with destruction. An accidental fire happened afterward to take place, which was again laid to the charge of the Jews. In short, the whole Grecian population was so exasperated against the Jews, that they petitioned Titus for their expulsion from the city, or at least to cancel their privileges. Titus at first gave no answer, but afterward on his return from the Euphrates, he refused their demands in these affecting words: "The country of the Jews is destroyed—thither they cannot return: it would be hard to allow them no home to which they can retreat—leave them in peace." As he passed from Antioch to Alexandria, he surveyed the ruins of Jerusalem, and is said to have been touched with pity at the total desolation of that splendid city. For this work of havoe, for the destruction of near a million and a half of human lives, and the reduction of above 100,000 to the most cruel servitude, Titus was considered as entitled to a splendid triumph. If the numbers in Josephus may be depended on, the fearful catalogue of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterm-

nating war, and its previous massacres, stands as follows:—

BEFORE THE WAR UNDER VESPASIAN.

At Jerusalem, killed by Florus	3,600
At Cæsarea	20,000
At Scythopolis	13,000
At Ascalon	2,500
At Ptolemais	2,000
At Alexandria	50,000
At Damascus	10,000
At Joppa	8,400
Upon the mountain Asamon	2,000
The battle near Ascalon	10,000
The ambuscades	8,000
	—
	129,500

DURING THE WAR IN GALILEE AND JUDEA.

At Japha	15,000
On Gerizim	11,600
At Jotapata	40,000
At Joppa	4,200
At Tarichea	6,500
At Gamala	9,000
At Gischala	6,000
In Idumea	10,000
At Gerasa	1,000
Near the Jordan	15,000
	—
At Jerusalem	118,300
	1,100,000

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

At Machærus	1,700
At Jardes	3,000
At Masada	900
In Cyrene	3,000
	—
TOTAL KILLED	8,600

PRISONERS.

In Gischala	2,200
Near the Jordan	2,500
At Jerusalem	97,000
	—
TOTAL PRISONERS	101,700

The loss in many skirmishes and battles,—that of Itabyrium for instance,—is omitted, as we have not the numbers; besides the immense waste of life from massacre, famine, and disease, inseparable from such a war, in almost every district. The number of prisoners is only given from two places besides Jerusalem.

Nothing could equal the splendour of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vases, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilized savages, all the horrors and miseries of war, beautiful countries laid waste; armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, laid waste with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the law, from the Temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.

The triumph passed on to the Capitol, and there paused to hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon the son of Gioras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death.

The antiquary still endeavours to trace, among the defaced and mouldering reliefs of the arch raised to Titus, “the Delight of humankind,” and which still stands in the Forum of Rome, the repre-

sentation of the spoils taken from the Temple of Jerusalem—the golden table and candlestick, the censors, the silver trumpets, and even the procession of captive Jews.



BOOK XVII.

TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

Fall of Herodion—Machærus—Masada—Fate of Josephus—Agrippa—Berenice.

IT might have been expected that all hopes of resistance, even among the most stubborn of the Jews, would have been buried under the ruins of the capital; that after the fall of Jerusalem, with such dreadful misery and carnage, every town would at once have opened its gates, and laid itself at the mercy of the irresistible conqueror. Yet, when Lucilius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army, he found three strong fortresses still in arms—Herodion, Masada, and Machærus. Herodion immediately capitulated, but Machærus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. Machærus stood on the summit of a lofty crag, surrounded on all sides by ravines of enormous depth, which could not easily be crossed, and could not possibly be filled up. One of these ravines, on the western side, ran down, a distance of nearly eight miles, to the Dead Sea. Those to the north and the south were less deep, but not less impassable: on the east the hollow was 175 feet to the bottom, beyond which arose a mountain which faced Machærus. The town had been built and strongly fortified by Alexander Jannæus, as a check upon the Arabian freebooters. It was a place of great beauty, as well as strength, adorned with noble palaces, and amply supplied with reservoirs of water. Bassus determined to form the siege on the eastern side; the garrison took possession of the citadel, and

forced the strangers, who had taken refuge there from all quarters, to defend the lower town. Many fierce conflicts took place under the walls; the garrison sometimes surprising the enemy by the rapidity of their sallies: sometimes, when the Romans were prepared for them, being repulsed with great loss. There happened to be a young man, named Eleazar, of remarkable activity and valour, who greatly distinguished himself in these attacks, being always the first to charge and the last to retreat, often by his single arm arresting the progress of the enemy, and allowing his routed compatriots time to make good their retreat. One day, after the battle was over, proudly confident in his prowess and in the terror of his arms, he remained alone without the gates, carelessly conversing with those on the wall. Rufus, an Egyptian, serving in the Roman army, a man of singular bodily strength, watched the opportunity, rushed on him, and bore him off, armour and all, to the Roman camp. Bassus ordered the captive to be stripped, and scourged in the sight of the besieged. At the sufferings of their brave champion the whole city set up a wild wailing. Bassus, when he saw the effect of his barbarous measure, ordered a cross to be erected, as if for the execution of the gallant youth. The lamentations in the city became more loud and general. Eleazar's family was powerful and numerous. Through their influence it was agreed to surrender the citadel, on condition that Eleazar's life should be spared. The strangers in the lower town attempted to cut their way through the posts of the besiegers; a few of the bravest succeeded; of those who remained, 1700 perished. The treaty with the garrison was honourably observed.

Bassus proceeded to surround the forest of Jardes, where a vast number of fugitives had taken refuge: they attempted to break through, but were repulsed,

and 3000 put to the sword. During the course of these successes Bassus died, and Flavius Silva assumed the command in Palestine. Silva immediately marched against Masada, the only place which still held out. Masada was situated on the south-western side of the Dead Sea. Like the other hill fortresses of Palestine, it stood on a high rock, girt with precipitous chasms, the sides of which a goat could scarcely clamber. It was accessible only by two narrow and very difficult paths, from the east and from the west. On the east, a path, or rather a rocky stair, led up from the shore of the Dead Sea, called the Serpent, from its winding and circuitous course. It ran along the verge of frightful precipices, which made the head giddy to look down it was necessary to climb step by step; if the foot slipped, instant death was inevitable. After winding in this manner nearly four miles, this path opened on a level space, on which Masada stood, in the midst of a small and highly cultivated plain of extraordinary beauty and fertility. The city was girt with a wall, nearly a mile in circuit. The wall was twenty-two feet high, fourteen broad, and had thirty-seven lofty towers. Besides this wall, Masada had a strong and magnificent palace, with sixty towers, built by Herod, on the western cliff, and connected, by an underground way, with the citadel. The western ascent was commanded, in its narrowest part, by an impregnable tower.

The city was amply supplied with excellent water, and with provisions of all kinds, wine, oil, vegetables, and dates. According to the strange account of Josephus, the air of Masada was of such a temperature, that, although some of these fruits had been laid up for a hundred years, since the time of Herod, they were still sound and fresh. There were likewise armories, sufficient to supply 10,000 men, with great stores of unwrought iron, brass, and lead. In fact, Masada had been the fortress

which Herod the Great had always looked to as a place of security, either in case of foreign invasion, or the revolt of his own subjects. The town was now as strongly manned as fortified. Eleazar, the commander, was a descendant of Judas the Galilean, and inherited the principles of his ancestor in their sternest and most stubborn fanaticism. To yield to a foreign dominion was to him and his zealous associates the height of impiety; death was far preferable to a treacherous dereliction of the sovereignty of God. They acted, to the end, up to their lofty tenets.

Silva, having blockaded the town, so that none could make their escape, seized a point of rock, called the White Promontory, to the westward. There he erected his works, a mound, 350 feet high, and above that a second bank of enormous stones; and at length he brought a battering ram to bear upon the walls. After long resistance, a breach was made; but the besieged had run up another wall within, of great timbers laid parallel with each other, in two separate rows, the intervening space being filled with earth; this sort of double artificial wall was held together by transverse beams, and the more violently it was battered it became more solid and compact by the yielding of the earth. Silva ordered his men to throw lighted brands upon it: the timbers speedily kindled, and the whole became a vast wall of fire. The north wind blew the flames into the faces of the besiegers, and the Romans trembled for their own works and engines. On a sudden, the wind shifted to the south, the flames burned inwards, and the whole fell down, a heap of smouldering ashes. The Romans withdrew to their camp, to prepare for the attack on the next morning, and stationed strong and vigilant outposts to prevent the flight of the garrison. But Eleazar was not a man either himself to attempt flight or to permit

others to follow so dastardly a course. He assembled his followers in the palace, and reminded them that the time was now come when they must vindicate to the utmost their lofty principles. God had evidently abandoned his people; the fall of Jerusalem, the ruin of the Temple, too sadly proved this. The sudden change of the wind, on the day before, distinctly announced that they too were deserted by his protecting providence. Still it was better to fall into the hands of God, than of the Roman; and he proposed that they should set the city on fire, and perish together with their wives unviolated, their children yet free from captivity, on that noble funeral pile.

His men gazed on each other in wonder. Some were kindled at once with his enthusiasm; others thought of their wives and children, and tears were seen stealing slowly down their hardy cheeks. Eleazar saw that they were wavering, and broke out in a higher and more splendid strain. He spake of the immortality, the divinity of the soul; its joyful escape from its imprisonment in its mortal tenement. He appealed to the example of the Indians, who bear life as a burthen, and cheerfully throw it off. Perhaps with still greater effect he dwelt on the treatment of the conquered by the Romans, the abuse of women, the slavery of children, the murderous scenes in the amphitheatres. "Let us die," he ended, "unenslaved; let us depart from life in freedom with our wives and children. This our law demands, this our wives and children entreat; God himself has driven us to this stern necessity; this the Romans dread above all things, lest we should disappoint them of their victory. Let us deny them the joy and triumph of seeing us subdued, and rather strike them with awe at our death, and with enforced admiration of our indomitable valour."

He was interrupted by the unanimous voice of

the multitude, vying with each other in eagerness to begin on the instant the work of self-devotion. On their intoxicated spirits no softer feelings had now the slightest effect. They embraced their wives, they kissed their children even with tears, and, at the moment, as though they had been the passive instruments of another's will, they stabbed them to the heart. Not a man declined the murderous office. But they thought that they should wrong the dead if they survived them many minutes. They hastily drew together their most valuable effects, and heaping them up, set fire to these sumptuous funeral piles. Then, ten men having been chosen by lot as the general executioners, the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots, nine fell by each other's hands, the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the palace, and then with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart.

One old woman, another female who was a relative of Eleazar and distinguished for her learning, and five children, who had crept into an underground cavern, were all that escaped; 960 perished. The next morning the Romans advanced to the wall in close array and with the greatest caution. They fixed the sealing ladders, mounted the wall, and rushed in. Not a human being appeared, all was solitude and silence, and the vestiges of fire all around, filled them with astonishment. They gave a shout as they were wont when they drove the battering ram, as if to startle the people from their hiding places. The two women and the five children came creeping forth. The Romans would not believe their story, till having partially extinguished the fire, they made their way into the palace, and, not without admiration, beheld this unexampled spectacle of self-devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judea. An edict of the emperor to set up all the lands to sale, had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the imperial treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only 800 veterans were settled in Emmaus, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem. At the same time, another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world, for the support of the Temple worship, to the fund for the rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, "by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem." Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham, levied for the maintenance of an heathen edifice.

Yet, though entirely extinguished in Judea, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Some of the Assassins (the Sicarii) fled to Egypt, and began to display their usual turbulence, putting to death many of the more influential Jewish residents, who opposed their seditious designs, and exciting the rest to revolt. The Jews assembled in council, and determined to put down these dangerous enemies to their peace, by seizing and delivering them up to the Romans. Six hundred were immediately apprehended, a few, who fled to the Thebaïs, were pursued and captured. But the spirits of these men were still unsubdued: the most protracted and excruciating torments could not induce one of them, not even the tenderest boy, to renounce his creed, or to own Cæsar as his Lord. On the news of this commotion, Vespasian sent orders that the Temple of Onias in Heliopolis should be closed. Lupus, the Prefect, obeyed the order

took away part of the treasures, and shut up the Temple. The edict was executed with still greater rigour by Paulinus, the successor of Lupus, who entirely stripped the treasury, and made the way to the Temple impassable.

The last of these fanatics, having first endangered the peace of Cyrene, had almost involved in his own fate the few distinguished Jews who had escaped the ruin of their country. A certain turbulent weaver of Cyrene, named Jonathan, pretended to supernatural signs and visions, and led a multitude of the lower orders into the Desert. The chief Jews denounced him to Catullus, the governor of the Pentapolis. Troops of horse were sent out, the deluded multitude brought back, and the impostor, after having long baffled their search, was apprehended. Before the tribunal of the governor, this man accused many of the chief Jews as accomplices in his plot. Catullus listened with greedy ear to his charges, and even suggested the names of those whom he was anxious to convict. On the evidence of Jonathan and a few of his comrades, a man named Alexander and Berenice his wife, who had been on bad terms with Catullus, were seized and put to death. Three thousand more shared their fate; their property was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Jonathan went still farther; he denounced as the secret instigators of his revolt, some of the Jews of the highest rank who resided in Rome among the rest, Josephus the historian.

Catullus came to Rome with his witnesses; Vespasian ordered a strict investigation, the event of which was the exculpation of the accused, and the condemnation of Jonathan, who was first scourged and then burned alive. Catullus escaped animadversion; but Josephus, who spares no opportunity of recounting the judgments of Providence on his own personal enemies, gives a frightful picture of his end. He was seized with a dreadful malady of

body and mind. Racked with remorse of conscience, he would rave and scream out that he was environed by the ghosts of those whom he had murdered; he would then leap out of bed, and writhe and roll on the ground as though on the rack, or burning alive in the flames. At length, his entrails fell out, and death put an end to his agonies.

There were several persons who escaped from the general wreck of their country, whose fate may excite some interest. Josephus the historian, after his surrender, married a captive in Caesarea; but in obedience, it may be supposed, to the law which prohibited such marriages to a man of priestly line, he discarded her, and married again in Alexandria. We have seen that he was present during the whole siege, endeavouring to persuade his countrymen to capitulate. Whether he seriously considered resistance impossible, or, as he pretends, recognising the hand of God, and the accomplishment of the prophecies in the ruin of his country, esteemed it impious as well as vain; whether he was actuated by the baser motive of self-interest, or the more generous desire of being of service to his miserable countrymen, he was by no means held in the same estimation by the Roman army as by Titus. They thought a traitor to his country might be a traitor to them; and they were apt to lay all their losses to his charge, as if he kept up secret intelligence with the besieged. On the capture of the city, Titus offered him any boon he would request. He chose the sacred books, and the lives of his brother and fifty friends. He was afterward permitted to select 190 of his friends and relatives, from the multitudes who were shut up in the Temple to be sold for slaves. A little after, near Tekoa, he saw a number of persons, writhing in the agonies of crucifixion; among the rest, three of his intimate associates. He rode off with all speed to entreat their pardon; it was granted, but two of them expired as they were being

taken down from the cross ; the third survived. The estate of Josephus lying within the Roman encampment, Titus assigned him other lands in lieu of it. Vespasian also conferred on him a considerable property in land. Josephus lived afterward in Rome, in high favour with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The latter punished certain Jews and a eunuch, the tutor of his son, who had falsely accused him ; exempted his estate from tribute, and advanced him to high honour. He was a great favourite with the empress Domitia.

By his Alexandrian wife Josephus had three sons ; one only, Hyrcanus, lived to maturity. Dissatisfied with his wife's conduct, he divorced her likewise, and married a Cretan woman, from a Jewish family, of the first rank and opulence in the island, and of admirable virtue.

At Rome, Josephus first wrote the History of the Jewish War, in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the use of his own countrymen in the East, particularly those beyond the Euphrates. He afterward translated the work into Greek, for the benefit of the Western Jews and of the Romans. Both king Agrippa and Titus bore testimony to its accuracy. The latter ordered it to be placed in the public library, and signed it with his own hands as an authentic memorial of the times. Many years afterward, about A. C. 93, he published his great work on the Antiquities of the Jews ; of which the main object was to raise his nation in the estimation of the Roman world, and to confute certain calumnious accounts of their early history, which increased the hatred and contempt in which they were held. With the same view he wrote an answer to Apion, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, who had given currency to many of the ancient fictions of Egyptian tradition concerning the Jews. He likewise published his own life, in answer to the statements of his old antagonist, Justus of Tiberias, who

had sent forth a history of the war, written in Greek, with considerable elegance. When he died is uncertain; history loses sight of him in his 56th or 57th year.

The last of the royal house of Herod who ruled in Palestine, king Agrippa, among the luxuries of the Roman capital, where he generally resided, forgot the calamities of his country, and the ruin of his people. He died, as he had lived, the humble and contented vassal of Rome. He had received the honours of the praetorship, and an accession of territory from Vespasian. In him the line of the Idumean sovereigns was extinct.

His sister, Berenice, had nearly obtained a loftier destiny. She was received with the highest honours at the imperial court, where her beauty and attractions, notwithstanding that she had been twice married, and had no great character for virtue,* so inflamed the heir of the empire, and the conqueror of Judea, Titus, that Rome trembled lest a Jewish mistress should sit on the imperial throne. The public dissatisfaction was so loud and unambiguous, that Titus was constrained to dismiss her. She returned afterward to Rome, but never regained her former favour. The time of her death, as well as that of her brother, is uncertain.

* The Roman satirist, Juvenal, has given currency to a report of a scandalous connexion with her brother.

BOOK XVIII.

BARCOCHAB.

Character of the ensuing History—Re-establishment of Jewish Communities—Origin and Growth of Rabbinism—History to the Time of Trajan—Insurrection in Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Palestine—Rabbi Akiba—Barcochab—Fall of Bither.

THE political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated ; it was never again recognised as one of the states or kingdoms of the world. Judea was sentenced to be portioned out to strangers—the capital was destroyed—the Temple demolished—the royal house almost extinct—the high priesthood buried under the ruins of the Temple. Our history has lost, as it were, its centre of unity ; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world ; and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of their story. We are called back, indeed, for a short time to Palestine, to relate new scenes of revolt, ruin, and persecution ; we behold the formation of two separate spiritual states, under the authority of which the whole nation seems to range itself in willing obedience ; but in later periods we must wander over the whole face of the habitable globe to gather the scanty traditions which mark the existence of the Jewish people among the different states of Asia, Africa, and Europe—where, refusing still to mingle their blood with any other race of mankind, they dwell in their distinct families and communities, and still maintain, though sometimes long and utterly unconnected with each other, the principle of national unity. Jews in the indelible features of the countenance, in mental character, in customs, usages, and laws

in language and literature, above all in religion; in the recollections of the past, and in the hopes of the future; with ready pliancy they accommodate themselves to every soil, every climate, every gradation of manners and civilization, every form of government; with inflexible pertinacity they practise their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, eating no animal food which has not been killed by a Jew; rarely intermarry, except among each other; observe the fasts and festivals of their church; and assemble, wherever they are numerous enough, or dare to do so, in their synagogues for public worship. Denizens everywhere, rarely citizens; even in the countries in which they have been the longest and most firmly established, they appear, to a certain degree, strangers or sojourners; they dwell apart, though mingling with their neighbours in many of the affairs of life. For common purposes they adopt the language of the country they inhabit; but the Hebrew remains the national tongue, in which their holy books are read, and their religious services conducted: it is their literary and sacred language, as Latin was that of the Christian church in the dark ages.

The history of the modern Jews may be comprehended under three heads: 1st, Their literature, which, in fact, is nearly the same with that of their law and their religion, the great mass of their writings being entirely devoted to those subjects; 2. Their persecutions; 3. Their industry. With regard to the first point, it would not be consistent with the popular character of our work to enter into it, further than as it has influenced the character and circumstances of the nation. The second will be too often forced upon our notice: at one period the history of the Jews is written, as it were, in their blood: they show no signs of life but in their cries of agony; they only appear in the annals of the

world ~~were~~ oppressed, robbed, persecuted, and massacred. Yet still patient and indefatigable, they pursue, under every disadvantage, the steady course of industry. Wherever they have been allowed to dwell unmolested, or still more in honour and respect, they have added largely to the stock of national wealth, cultivation, and comfort. Where, as has been more usually the case, they have been barely tolerated, where they have been considered, in public estimation, the basest of the base, the very outcasts and refuse of mankind; they have gone on accumulating those treasures which they dared not betray or enjoy; in the most barbarous periods they kept up the only traffic and communication which subsisted between distant countries; like hardy and adventurous miners, they were always at work under the surface of society, slowly winning their way to opulence. Perpetually plundered, yet always wealthy; massacred by thousands, yet springing up again from their undying stock, the Jews appear at all times and in all regions: their perpetuity, their national immortality, is at once the most curious problem to the political inquirer; to the religious man a subject of profound and awful admiration.

It was not long after the dissolution of the Jewish state that it revived again in appearance, under the form of two separate communities, mostly independent upon each other; one under a sovereignty purely spiritual; the other partly temporal and partly spiritual—but each comprehending all the Jewish families in the two great divisions of the world. At the head of the Jews, on this side of the Euphrates, appeared the Patriarch of the West; the chief of the Mesopotamian community assumed the striking, but more temporal, title of Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity. The origin of both these dignities, especially of the western patriarchate, is involved in much obscurity. It might have been expected, that from the character of the

great war with Rome, the people, as well as the state of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution, or, at least, verged rapidly towards total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of the Roman empire were glutted with Jewish slaves; the amphitheatres were crowded with these miserable people, who were forced to slay each other, not singly, but in troops; or fell in rapid succession, glad to escape the tyranny of their masters by the more expeditious cruelty of the wild beast; and in the unwholesome mines hundreds were doomed to toil for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived before long to offer new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Of the state of Palestine, indeed, immediately after the war, we have little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, drained the country of the Jewish population; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, introduced a foreign race into the possession of the soil. The immense numbers engaged in the rebellion during the reign of Hadrian, imply, either that the country was not near exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid. In fact, it must be remembered, that whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, by famine; whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judea, and great part of Idumea were wasted, and, probably, much depopulated; but, excepting a few towns which made resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan, escaped the devastation. The dominions of king Agrippa were, for the most part, respected.

Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most of the cities on the sea-coast. Many of the rich and influential persons fell off from their more obstinate countrymen at the beginning, or during the course of the war, were favourably received, and dismissed in safety by Titus.

According to the Jewish tradition, the Sanhedrin escaped the general wreck. Before the formation of the siege, it had followed Gamaliel its Nasi, or Prince, to Jabne (Jammia.*). Simeon, the son and successor of Gamaliel, had gone up to the Passover; he was put to death. Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, after having laboured in vain to persuade the people to peace, made his escape to the camp of Titus, and afterward became Nasi at Jammia. It was Rabban Jochanan, who, on the awful night when the great eastern gate of the Temple flew open of its own accord, quoted the ominous words of the prophet Zachariah—“*Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.*” He escaped the fury of the zealots by being laid out on a bier, as dead, and carried forth by his scholars, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer. Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, likewise escaped the fate of his father. With the permission of Titus, he followed Jochanan to Jammia, and afterward succeeded him in the presidency.†

* We have sometimes thought that the permission granted, according to the Rabbins, by Titus to the Sanhedrin, to depart to Jammia, Jabne, or Jafne, is another version of the account in Josephus of the eminent persons who were courteously received by Titus, sent to Gophni, and afterward recalled, for a short time, to try their influence with Josephus in persuading the besieged to surrender.

† The Sanhedrin, the Rabbins say, had ten fittings. From Gazith (the chamber in the Temple) to Khanoth (the Tabernæ, or Shops, in the outer court)—from Khanoth to Jerusalem—from Jerusalem to Jabne—from Jabne to Osha—from Osha to Shephraam—from Shephraam to Bethshaaraam—from Bethshaaraam to Sepphoris—from Sepphoris to Tiberias. Its Nasi or Presidents, on the same authority were as follows:

Ezra.

Simon the Just.

Antigonus of Socho (the master of Sadoc)

That this school of Gamaliel had any legitimate title to the dignity of the Sanhedrin, may be reasonably doubted: but it seems clear, that the great school of Jamnia obtained considerable authority; and whether from the rank and character of its head, or from the assemblage of many of its members of the ancient Sanhedrin, who formed a sort of community in that place, it was looked up to with great respect and veneration by the Jews who remained in Palestine. The Romans would regard with contemptuous indifference the establishment of this kind of authority. Like Pilate, or Gallio, in the Acts, they would leave to the conquered people to settle among themselves “*questions relating to their law.*” But these points were of vital interest to the Jew: they far surpassed in importance all sublunary considerations; on these depended the favour of their God, their only refuge in their degradation and misery; and with unexampled, though surely not reprehensible pertinacity, the more they were depressed, the more ardently they were attached to

Joseph ben Joezer, President. **Joseph ben Jochanan**, Vice-President.

Joshua ben Perachiah—persecuted by Alexander Janneus; fled to Alexandria.

Judah ben Tabbat, P. **Simon ben Shetach**, V. P.—according to Lightfoot, many *eminent* actions were performed by them;—*they hanged eighty witches in one day.*

Shemaiah, P. **Abatilon**, V. P.—descended from Sennacherib; their mothers were of Jewish blood. Perhaps the Sameas and Potlio of Josephus.

Hillel, P. **Shanunai**, V. P.—Hillel was a second Moses: at forty years old he came up to Jerusalem; forty years he studied the law; forty years he was president.

Simeon, son of Hillel—supposed by some the Simeon who took out Saviour in his arms; but there is considerable chronological difficulty.

Gamaliel, son of Simeon, (the teacher of St. Paul)—with him the honour of the law failed, purity and Pharisaism died.

Simeon, his son—slain at Jerusalem

Jochanan ben Zaccai.

Gamaliel of Jabneh, son of Simeon.

Simeon, son of Gamaliel, first Pat'arch of Tiberias.

Judah, son of Simeon.

Gamaliel, son of Judah

their own institutes. They were their only pride their only treasure—their only patrimony, now that their Temple was in ashes, and their land had been confiscated. The enemy could not wrest them away; they were the continual remembrancers of the glories of the past, the only consolation and pledge of blessing for the future. It is indeed a strange transition in Jewish history, from the wild contest of the fanatic zealots, to the disputation of learned expounders of the law—from the bloody tribunals of Simon Bar Gioras, John of Gischala, and Eleazar the Zealot, to the peaceful scholars at the feet of Gamaliel—from the din of arms the confusion of besieged cities, the miseries of famine, massacre, and conflagration, to discussions about unclean meats, new moons, and the observance of the Sabbath. But of all things it is most strange, that a people apparently occupied in these scholastic triflings, should, in sixty years, spring up again in a revolt scarcely less formidable to the ruling powers, or less calamitous to themselves, than the great Jewish war under Titus.

Gamaliel, the president of the school in Jamnia, or, as the Jews assert, the Nasi of the Sanhedrin, was deeply learned, but proud and overbearing. He studiously depressed his rivals in learning, R. Eliezer son of Hyrcan, and R. Joshua son of Hananiah. It was a question, whether a first-born animal, wounded on the lip, was a lawful offering. Joshua decided in the affirmative. Gamaliel not merely annulled his sentence, but inflicted an humiliating penance on Joshua, making him stand up while he was lecturing. A scholar asked Joshua, whether evening prayer was a duty or a free-will offering. Joshua decided for the latter. Another contradiction and another penance ensued; till at length the indignant scholars attempted to throw off the yoke, and Gamaliel was formally deposed. Much difficulty arose about his successor,

R. Joshua, his great rival, was passed by ; and the choice lay between R. Akiba, a man whose fiery and impetuous character afterward plunged himself and the nation in the darkest calamities, and R. Eliezer, a young man of noble family, said to be descended from Ezra. The choice fell on Eliezer. He hesitated to accept the dignified office. "Why?" he was asked. "Because I have not a gray beard;" and immediately his beard began to sprout, and grew on the instant to the most orthodox length and venerable whiteness. Other schools were gradually established. Eliezer son of Hyrcan taught in Lydda; Joshua son of Hananiah, in Pekun; Akiba, in Baar-brak. Of all these Rabbins, or Masters of the Law, stories are told, sometimes puerile, sometimes full of good sense and profound moral wisdom, sometimes most absurdly extravagant; and characteristic incidents, which bear the stamp of truth, occur in the midst of the most monstrous legends.* But all these show the authority of Rabbinism—for so that system of teaching may be called—over the public mind;—of Rabbinism, which, supplanting the original religion of the Jews, became, after the ruin of the Temple and the extinction of the public worship, a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in the character of modern Judaism. Indeed, it is absolutely necessary for the distinct comprehension of the later Jewish history, to enter into some farther consideration of the origin, growth, and nature of that singular spiritual supremacy assumed by the Rabbinical oligarchy, which, itself held together by a strong corporate spirit, by

* Some of the Rabbins refused to eat flesh, or drink wine, after the destruction of the Temple. "Shall we eat meat when meat offerings are forbidden, or drink wine when wine offerings are no more made in the Temple?" "By that rule," answered the shrewd R. Joshua, "you must abstain from bread, for the show-bread is no more set out—from fruits, for the first fruits are no longer offered—from water, for there is now no water by the altar. Go: exact no duties from the people which the many cannot discharge."

community of interest, by identity of principle, has contributed more than any other external cause to knit together in one body the widely dispersed members of the Jewish family, and to keep them the distinct and separate people which they appear in all ages of the world. It is clear that, after the return of the Babylonian captivity, the Mosaic constitution could be but partially re-established. The whole building was too much shattered, and its fragments too widely dispersed, to reunite in their ancient and regular form. Palestine was a dependent province of the great Persian empire; and neither the twelve confederate republics of older times, nor the monarchies of the later period, could be permitted to renew their existence. But in no respect was the original Mosaic constitution so soon or so entirely departed from, as in the distinctions and endowments of the great learned aristocracy, the tribe of Levi; in no point was it more impossible to reinstate the polity on its primitive model. To ascend no higher, the tribe of Levi seemed to have lost all their possessions in the provinces of Israel on the separation of the kingdoms. On the return from the Captivity, the Levites are mentioned as distinct from the priests; and are present, as it were, giving authority at the public reading of the law. But they were by no means numerous—perhaps scarcely more than sufficient to furnish the different courses to minister in the Temple. At all events, they were no independent or opulent tribe; their cities were gone, and though they still retained the tithe, it was so far from supporting them in great affluence, that when the higher class encroached upon the rights of the lower order, the latter were in danger of absolute starvation. In fact, they were the officiating priesthood, and no more—bound to be acquainted with the forms and usages of the sacrificial ritual; but the instruction of the people, and the interpretation of the Law, by no means fell

necessarily within their province. On the other hand, the Jews who returned from the Captivity brought with them a reverential, or rather a passionate attachment, to the Mosaic Law. This it seems to have been the prudent policy of their leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, to encourage by all possible means, as the great bond of social union, and the unfailing principle of separation from the rest of mankind. The consecration of the second Temple, and the re-establishment of the state, were accompanied by the ready and solemn recognition of the Law. By degrees attachment to the Law sank deeper and deeper into the national character; it was not merely at once their Bible and their Statute Book, it entered into the most minute detail of common life. But no written law can provide for all possible exigencies; whether general and comprehensive, or minute and multifarious, it equally requires the expositor to adapt to it the immediate case which may occur, either before the public tribunal or that of the private conscience. Hence it became a deep and intricate study. Certain men rose to acknowledged eminence for their ingenuity in explaining, their readiness in applying, their facility in quoting, and their clearness in offering solutions of the difficult passages of the written statutes. Learning in the Law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage. Public and private affairs depended on the sanction of this self-formed spiritual aristocracy. In an imperfect calendar, the accurate settling of the proper days for the different fasts and festivals was of the first importance. It would have been considered as inevitably tending to some great national calamity, if it had been discovered that the new moon, or any other moveable festival, above all if the Passover had been celebrated on a miscalculated day. The national sacrifice, or that of the individual, might be vitiated by an inadvertent want of conformity to

the strict letter of the ritual. Every duty of life, of social intercourse between man and man, to omit its weightier authority as the national code of criminal and civil jurisprudence, was regulated by an appeal to the Book of the Law. Even at every meal, the scrupulous conscience shuddered at the possibility, lest by some neglect, or misinterpretation of the statute, it might fall into serious offence. In every case, the learned in the Law could alone decide to the satisfaction of the inquirer.

Moreover, by degrees, another worship, independent of the Temple, grew up—that of the synagogue. The nation still met in the great Temple, for the purpose of national expiation or thanksgiving. The individual went there to make his legal offerings, or to utter his prayers in the more immediate presence of the God of Abraham. But besides this he had his synagogue—where, in a smaller community, he assembled, with a few of his neighbours, for divine worship, for prayer, and for instruction in the Law. The latter more immediately, and gradually the former, fell entirely under the regulation of the learned interpreter of the Law, who, we may say, united the professions of the clergy and the law—the clergy, considered as public instructors; for the law-school and the synagogue were always closely connected, if they did not form parts of the same building. Thus there arose in the state the curious phenomenon of a spiritual supremacy, distinct from the priesthood; for though many of these teachers were actually priests and Levites, they were not necessarily so—a supremacy which exercised the most unlimited dominion, not formally recognised by the constitution, but not the less real and substantial; for it was grounded in the general belief, ruled by the willing obedience of its subjects, and was rooted in the very minds and hearts of the people, till, at length, the maxim was openly promulgated, “the voice of the Rabbi, the

voice of God." Thus, though the High-Priest was still the formal and acknowledged head of the state, the real influence passed away to these recognised interpreters of the Divine word. The circumstances of the Jewish history concurred in depressing the spiritual authority of the priesthood; and, as in such a community spiritual authority must have existed somewhere, its transfer to the Rabbins, though slow and imperceptible, was no less certain. During the reign of the Asmoneans the high-priesthood became a mere appendage of the temporal sovereignty; but the Pharisaic, or learned party, were constantly struggling for superiority with the throne, which thus nominally united both the religious and worldly supremacy. Herod ruled as a military despot; but it was not the priesthood, the chief dignity of which he filled with his own dependants, but this body of men, learned in the law of the fathers, which alone resisted the introduction of Grecian manners and customs, and kept alive the waning embers of Judaism. We have seen that, in the zenith of his power, he dared not exact an oath of allegiance, from his dread of a most influential class zealously attached to the Law. The Sanhedrin was, in general, the organ by which they acted, as the seats of that half-senatorial, half-judicial body, were usually filled by the most learned and influential of the Rabbins or teachers. It is probable that general opinion would point them out as the fittest persons to fill the places of the twenty-three judges, appointed, according to Josephus, in every considerable town. Still their power was more deeply rooted than in the respect paid to any court or office: it consisted rather in the education and daily instruction of the people, who looked up to them with implicit confidence in their infallibility.

But besides the interpretation of the written statutes, according to the rules of plain common sense, or more subtle reason the expounders of the law

assumed another ground of authority over the public mind, as the depositaries and conservators of the unwritten or traditionary Law. This was not universally acknowledged—and, from the earliest period, the great schism, in Jewish opinion, was on this great point the authority of tradition. But the traditionists were far superior in weight and numbers—and, by the mass of the people, the Masora, or unwritten tradition, received, as the Rabbins asserted, by Moses on Mount Sinai, and handed down, in regular and unbroken descent, through all the great names of their early history, the heads of the Sanhedrin, its successive conservators, till it finally vested in themselves, was listened to with equal awe, and received with equal veneration with the statutes inscribed by the hand of the Almighty on the tables of stone. This was generally called Masora, or *Tradition*, or Cabala*—the *received* doctrine of the schools—thus uniting, as it were, the sanctity of tradition in the church of Rome, with the validity of precedent in our law courts.

Hence the demolition of the Temple, the final cessation of the services, and the extinction of the priesthood, who did not survive their occupation—events which, it might have been expected, would have been fatal to the national existence of the Jews, as destroying the great bond of union—produced scarcely any remarkable effect. The Levitical class had already been superseded, as the judges and teachers of the people; the synagogue, with its law school, and its grave and learned Rabbi, had already begun to usurp the authority, and was pre-

* The term Cabala is usually applied to that wild system of Oriental philosophy which was introduced, it is uncertain at what period, into the Jewish schools; in a wider sense, it comprehended all the decisions of the Rabbinical courts or schools, whether on religious or civil points—whatever, in short, was considered to have been ruled by competent judges; but properly meant that knowledge which was traditionally derived from the hidden mysteries contained in the letters of the Law in the number of times they occurred, and in their relative position.

pared to supply the place of the Temple, with its solemn rites, regular sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. Hence the remnant of the people, amid the general wreck of their institutions, the extinction of the race, at least the abrogation of the office of High Priest, and even the defection of the representative of their late sovereign Agrippa, naturally looked round with eagerness to see if any of their learned Rabbins had escaped the ruin; and, directly they found them established in comparative security, willingly laid whatever sovereignty they could dare to offer at their feet. Their Roman masters had no tribunal which they could approach; the administration of their own law was indispensable; hence, whether it assumed the form of an oligarchy or a monarchy, they submitted themselves with the most implicit confidence, and in the most undoubting spirit, to the Rabbinical dominion.

The Jews, though looked upon with contempt as well as detestation, were yet regarded, during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors, with jealous watchfulness. A garrison of 800 men occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent the reconstruction of the city by the fond and religious zeal of its former inhabitants. The Christian Hegesippus relates, that Vespasian commanded strict search to be made for all who claimed descent from the house of David—in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house, or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. This barbarous inquisition was continued in the reign of Domitian; nor did the rest of the nation escape the cruelties which desolated the empire under the government of that sanguinary tyrant. The tax of two drachms, levied according to the rescript of Vespasian, for the rebuilding the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was exacted with unrelenting rigour; and, if any persons

denied their Judaism, the most indecent means were employed against persons of age and character, to ascertain the fact. Suetonius the historian had seen a public examination of this nature before the tribunal of the procurator. Still it may be doubted whether these persecutions, which, perhaps, were chiefly directed at the Judaizing Christians oppressed the Jewish people very heavily in their native land. It is impossible, unless communities were suffered to be formed, and the whole race enjoyed comparative security, that the nation could have appeared in the formidable attitude of resistance which it assumed in the time of Hadrian.

The reign of Nerva gave a brief interval of peace to the Jews with the rest of the world; but in that of Trajan either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt, as frantic and disastrous as that which had laid their city and Temple in ashes. In every quarter of the world, in each of their great settlements, in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrene, and in Judea, during the sovereignty of Trajan and his successor, the Jews broke out into bold and open rebellion—not without considerable successes—and were finally subdued, only after an obstinate struggle and enormous loss of life.*

The wise and upright Trajan was not superior to the intolerant religious policy of his predecessors. From the memorable letter of Pliny, it is manifest that the existing laws, though not clearly defined, were rigid against all who practised foreign superstitions. It is by no means improbable that its descent from Judaism, of which Christianity was long considered a modification, tended to increase

* Gibbon attributes all these insurrections to the unprovoked turbulence and fanaticism of the Jews. But his mind, notwithstanding its boasted liberality, was by no means exempt from the old vulgar prejudices against the Jews; heightened, perhaps, by his unfriendly feeling, not much more philosophical, to the religion from which Christianity took its rise.

the hostility against the unoffending Christians, which their rapid progress had excited. If, even under a man of the temper and moderation of Pliny, and by the express rescript of the emperor, all the Christians obtained, was not to be “ hunted out with the implacable zeal of an inquisitor;” if scenes like those, so strikingly described in the acts of the martyrdom of Ignatius, were by no means unfrequent; we may fairly conclude that the odious Jews, under worse governors, or where the popular feeling was not repressed by the strong hand of authority, would be liable to perpetual insult, oppression, and persecution. The Rabbinical traditions are full of the sufferings of the people during this melancholy period, but they are so moulded up with fable,* that it is difficult to decide whether they rest on any groundwork of truth. This, however, is certain, that, during the war of Trajan with Parthia, when the Roman legions were probably withdrawn from the African provinces, and a few feeble garrisons alone remained to maintain the peace, intelligence was received that the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene had taken arms, and were perpetrating the most

* It is related that, unfortunately, the birthday of a prince fell on the anniversary of the fatal 9th of August; and while the whole Roman empire was rejoicing, the Jews alone were bewailing, in ill-timed lamentations, the fate of their Temple. Again, while the imperial family were in the deepest mourning for the loss of a daughter, the unlucky Jews were celebrating with noisy mirth their Feast of Lamps. The indignant empress exclaimed, “ before you march against the barbarians, sweep this insolent people from the face of the earth.” Trajan surrounded a vast number of Jews with his legions, and ordered them to be hewn down. He afterward offered their wives, either to share the fate of their husbands, or to submit to the embraces of his soldiers. “ What thou hast done to those beneath the earth, do to those who are upon it.” Such was the answer of the women. Their blood was mingled with that of their husbands; and the sea that broke upon the shores of Cyprus was tinged with the red hue of carnage. If there be any truth in this legend, it recoiled before long from those shores in a tide, which showed still more visible signs of unrelenting vengeance. But, independent of the improbability of the whole story, and its inconsistency with the character of the emperor, the family of Trajan made a great figure in this, as in other Jewish legends; yet it is almost certain that he had no children.

dreadful atrocities against the Greek inhabitants of these districts. The cause of this insurrection is unknown but when we remember the implacable animosities of the two races, which had been handed down as an inheritance for centuries, it is by no means surprising, that, directly the coercive authority of the Roman troops was withdrawn, a violent collision would take place. Nor is it improbable that the Greeks, who had been suffering grievous exactions from a rapacious Roman governor, might take up their old quarrel, and, in the absence of the Romans, endeavour to indemnify themselves by the plunder of their more industrious, perhaps more wealthy, neighbours. On which side hostilities began, we know not; but the Jews, even if they only apprehended an attack, had horrible reminiscences of recent disasters, or traditions, not very remote, of the days of Caligula; and might, not unnaturally, think that there was wisdom in endeavouring to be the first in the field; and that it was better to perish with arms in their hands, than stand still, as in former times, to be tamely pillaged and butchered. All Egypt, both Alexandria and the Thebais, with Cyrene, arose at once. In Egypt the Jews had at first some success; but the Greeks fell back on Alexandria, mastered the Jews within the city, and murdered the whole race. Maddened by this intelligence, as well as by the memory of former cruelties, the Jews of Cyrene, headed by Lucuas and Andrew, by some supposed, though improbably, two names of the same individual, swept all over Lower Egypt, where they were joined by a host of their countrymen, and penetrated into the Thebais, or even further, and exacted the most dreadful retribution for the present and the past. Horrid tales were told of the atrocities they committed—some of their rulers they sawed asunder from head to foot; they flayed their bodies, and clothed themselves with their skins, twisted their

entrails and wore them as girdles, and anointed themselves with blood. We are even told that this people, so scrupulous in the refusal of all unclean food, nevertheless feasted on the bodies of their enemies. With barbarity, for which they could quote better precedent, they are said to have thrown them to wild beasts, and forced them to fight on the theatres as gladiators. 220,000 fell before their remorseless vengeance. Whether these cannibal atrocities were true or not, that they should be propagated and credited shows the detestation in which the race was held. Luples, the Roman governor, meanwhile, without troops, sat an inactive spectator of this devastation; while Lucuas, the Jewish leader, is reported to have assumed the style and title of king.

The flame spread to Cyprus, where the Jews were numerous and wealthy. One Artemio placed himself at their head; they rose and massacred 240,000 of their fellow-citizens; the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert. The revolt in Cyprus was first suppressed; Hadrian, afterward emperor, landed on the island, and marched to the assistance of the few inhabitants who had been able to act on the defensive. He defeated the Jews, expelled them from the island, to whose beautiful coasts no Jew was ever after permitted to approach. If one were accidentally wrecked on the inhospitable shore, he was instantly put to death. Martius Turbo was sent by sea, for the purpose of expedition, with a considerable force of horse and foot, to the coast of Cyrene. As far as the campaign can be traced, it seems that he marched against Andrew, and, after much hard fighting, suppressed the insurrection in that province, and then turned upon Egypt, where Lucuas still made head. Lucuas, according to a tradition preserved by Abulsharagi, attempted to force his way by the isthmus of Suez; and some, at least, of his followers found their way to Pales-

tine. The loss of the Jews, as might be expected, was immense; their own traditions report, that as many fell in this disastrous war, as originally escaped from Egypt under Moses—600,000 men.

Cyprus was scarcely subdued, and the war was still raging in Egypt, when tidings arrived that the Jews of Mesopotamia were in arms. Probably the eastern Jews had found that, by the conquests of Trajan, they had changed masters for the worse.—Under the Parthian kings they had lived in peace, unmolested in their religion, sometimes making proselytes of the highest rank—in the case of Izates —of kings themselves; and they were oppressed by no exclusive taxation. The Jews of Africa and Syria might have looked with repining envy on their more prosperous brethren in Babylonia: the scene of the great captivity was now become the only dwelling of Jewish peace and Jewish independence; while the land of milk and honey flowed with the bitter streams of servitude and persecution. Even if the Babylonian Jews did not, as gratitude and policy would equally have urged, during the war between Rome and her eastern rival, manfully take arms in favour of their protectors against the enemies and oppressors of their race—if they left the armies of Parthia to fight their own battles, and quietly waited to be transferred to the conqueror; yet, when they were included, by the victories of Trajan, within the pale of Roman oppression—visited in their turn by that fierce soldiery which had trampled on the ruins of Jerusalem—made liable, perhaps, to a capitation tax for the maintenance of a heathen temple,—it was by no means surprising if they endeavoured to shake off the galling and unwonted yoke. Their insurrection was soon suppressed by the vigour of Lucius Quietus, a man of Moorish race, and considered the ablest soldier in the Roman army. The commission of Quietus was not only to subdue, but to expel the Jews from the

whole district. The Jews defended themselves with obstinate courage, and, though overpowered, still remained in Mesopotamia. The immediate appointment of L. Quietus to the government of Judea, seems to intimate some apprehension of commotions in that province, which might be kept down by the terrors of his name. In the next year (A. C. 117) Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. For the Mesopotamian Jews alone this was a fortunate occurrence; for as the prudent Hadrian abandoned all the conquests of his predecessor in the East, and re-established the Euphrates as the boundary of the Roman empire, they fell again under the milder dominion of their ancient sovereigns.—The new emperor was not likely to entertain very favourable sentiments towards his Jewish subjects. He had been an eye-witness of the horrible scenes which had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus; he had seen the voluptuous Idalian groves reeking with blood, or unwholesome with the recent carnage, of their inhabitants; the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation. It is not improbable that the same mischiefs might seem to be brooding in Palestine. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism: it interdicted circumcision, the reading of the Law, and the observation of the Sabbath. It was followed by a blow, if possible, more fatal: the intention of the emperor was announced to annihilate at once all hopes of the restoration of the Holy City, by the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, and the foundation of a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, on the site of their fallen Temple. A town had probably risen by degrees out of the ruins of Jerusalem, where the three great towers and a part of the western wall had been left as a protection to the Roman garrison: but the formal establishment of a colony implied the perpetual alienation of the soil, and its legal appropriation to the *stranger*. The

Jews looked on with dismay, with anguish, with secret thoughts of revenge, at length with hopes of immediate and splendid deliverance. It was an opinion, deeply rooted in the hearts of all faithful Israelites, that in the darkest hour of the race of Abraham, when his children were at the extreme point of degradation and wretchedness, that even then the arm of the Lord would be revealed, and the expected Messiah would make his sudden and glorious appearance. They were now sounding the lowest depths of misery. They were forbidden, under penalties sternly enacted and rigidly enforced, to initiate their children into the chosen family of God. Their race was in danger of becoming extinct; for even the blood of Abraham would little avail the uncircumcised. Their city was not merely a mass of ruins, inhabited by the stranger, but the Pagans were about to make their permanent residence upon the site of Sion, and a temple to a Gentile idol to usurp the place of the Holy of Holies.

At this momentous period it was announced that the Messiah had appeared. He had come in power and in glory; his name fulfilled the great prophecy of Baalam. Barcochab, the Son of the Star, was that star which was to "arise out of Jacob."—Wonders attended upon his person: he breathed flames from his mouth, which, no doubt, would burn up the strength of the proud oppressor, and wither the armies of the tyrannical Hadrian. Above all, the greatest of the Rabbins, the living oracle of divine truth, whose profound learning was looked up to by the whole race of Israel, acknowledged the claims of the new Messiah, and openly attached himself to his fortunes: he was called the standard-bearer of the Son of the Star. Rabbi Akiba was said not to be of the pure blood of Israel, but descended (such is the Rabbinical genealogy) from Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother. For forty years he had lived a

simple shepherd, tending the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem, named Calba Sheva. Love made him the wisest of his age. He became enamoured of his master's daughter: the wealthy Jew rejected the indigent shepherd, who was an alien from the race of Israel. But the lovers were secretly married, and Akiba left his bride immediately, and spent twelve years in study under the tuition of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. He returned, it is said, with 12,000 disciples. But the unrelenting father had disinherited his daughter. They lived in the greatest penury; and she bore her first child on a bed of straw. Akiba went back for twelve years more to the seat of learning. He returned again, followed by 24,000 disciples; and the father, at length appeased or overawed by the fame of his son-in-law, broke his vow of implacable resentment, and bestowed on them sufficient property to enable them to live in splendour. A thousand volumes would not contain the wonderful things which Akiba did and said. He could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter of the Law; and, it is boldly averred, that God revealed more to him than he did to Moses. He first committed the traditions to writing, and thus laid the groundwork for the celebrated Mishna, or Comment on the Law. A striking story is told of Akiba. His great maxim was, "that every thing is ordained of heaven for the best." With this axiom on his lips, he was riding with some of his followers near the ruins of Jerusalem. They burst into tears at the melancholy sight; for, to heighten their grief, they beheld a jackall prowling upon the Hill of the Temple.—Akiba only observed, that the very successes of the idolatrous Romans, as they fulfilled the words of the prophets, were grounds of loftier hopes for the people of God. The end of these lofty hopes must have severely tried the resignation of Akiba. He was yet in the zenith of his fame, though now nearly

120 years old, the period of life to which his great prototype, Moses, attained; if indeed his biographers have not rather conformed his life to that model: he is said also by some to have been the head of the Sanhedrin, when Barcochab, or Coziba, announced his pretensions as the Messiah. Akiba had but newly returned from a visit, or from a flight, to his Mesopotamian brethren; and whether the state of affairs at Nahardea and Nisibis had awakened his hopes and inflamed a noble jealousy, which induced him to risk any hazard to obtain equal independence for his brethren in Judea; or whether there was any general and connected plan for the reassertion of Jewish liberty, he threw himself at once into the party of the heaven-inspired insurgent "Behold," said the hoary enthusiast, in an assembly of the listening people, "the Star that is come out of Jacob; the days of the redemption are at hand." "Akiba," said the more cautious R. Johanan, "the grass will spring from thy jaw-bone, and yet the son of David will not have come." The period of the first appearance of the pretended Messiah is by no means certain, even his real name is unknown; he is designated only by his title, Barcochab, the Son of the Star, which his disappointed countrymen, in their bitterness, changed to Barcosba, the Son of a Lie. He is said to have been a robber; he had learned a trick of keeping lighted tow, or straw, in his mouth, which was the secret of his breathing flames, to the terror of his enemies, and the unbounded confidence of his partizans. He seems to have been a man of no common vigour and ability; but, unhappily, this second Jewish war had no Josephus, and the whole history of the campaigns, where the Jews manifestly gained great advantages and in which the most able general of Rome, Severus, found it expedient to act on the defensive, and reduce the province rather by blockade and famine, than by open war, can only be made out from three

short chapters of Dio Cassius, occasional brief notices in other authors, and the Legends of the Talmud. Lucius Quietus, the able conqueror of Mesopotamia, suspected of ambitious designs on the empire, had been deprived, first of his kindred Moorish troops, then of his province, and finally of his life. By a curious coincidence, the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of Terentius Rufus; the Prefect in Palestine, at the commencement of the revolt under Barcochab, was T. Annius, or Tynnus, called by the Rabbins, Tyrannus, or Turnus Rufus, the Wicked. Thus the two men, who were the objects of the deepest detestation to the Jews, are perpetually confounded. Rufus is said, by the command of Hadrian, to have driven the plough over the ruins of Jerusalem. At the first threatening of the revolt, probably after the visit of Hadrian to the East, in the year 130 (A. C.), Rufus poured all the troops at his command into Judea; he seized and imprisoned Akiba; but either his forces or his abilities were unequal to the crisis. The Romans could not believe that with the memory of the former war still on the lips of the fathers of the present generation, the Jews would provoke the danger of a second exterminating conflict. But for some time the insurgents had been busily employed in laying up stores of arms. By degrees they got possession of all the strong heights, raised walls and fortifications, dug or enlarged subterranean passages and caverns, both for retreat and communication, and contrived, by holes from above, to let light and air into those secret citadels, where they deposited their arms, held their councils, and concealed themselves from the vigilance of the enemy. Multitudes crowded openly, or stole in secret to range themselves under the banner of the Messiah. Native Jews and strangers swelled his ranks. It is probable that many of the fugitives

from the insurgents in Egypt and Cyrene, had found their way to Palestine, and lay hid in caves and fastnesses. Even many who were not Jews, for the sake of plunder and the license of war, united themselves with the rebels. No doubt some from the Mesopotamian provinces came to the aid of their brethren. The whole Jewish race throughout the world was in commotion ; those who dared not betray their interest in the common cause openly, did so in secret, and perhaps some of the wealthy Jews in the remote provinces privately contributed from their treasures. Barcochab, if we may believe the Rabbins, found himself at the head of 200,000, a statement somewhat invalidated by the addition, that there was not a soldier who could not, putting his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon by the roots. Those who had denied or disguised their circumcision, hastened to renew that distinguishing mark of their Israelitish descent, and to entitle themselves to a share in the great redemption. The Christians alone stood aloof, and would lend no ear, nor pay respect, to the claims of another Messiah ; a man of robbery and bloodshed, of earthly pretensions, and the aspirant founder of a temporal kingdom. Barcochab is reported to have revenged himself by the most cruel persecutions on those most dangerous opponents to his claim as the Messiah.

The first expedition of Barcochab was to make himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem. As we have before observed, probably some sort of rude town had grown up amid the wreck of the city. Pious pilgrims no doubt stole in secret to pay their adorations on the sacred hill ; and some would think it worth while to venture all hazards, if their last remains might repose within the circuits of the Holy City. With what triumph must they have crowded to the same spot, when the conquering banner of the Messiah was unfolded ; for here Bar-

cohab openly assumed the name of king, and is said to have issued coins with his superscription, and with the year of the freedom of Jerusalem as the date.* Still the Jews avoided a battle in the open field. Turnus Rufus revenged himself with the most unrelenting cruelties on the defenceless. According to Eusebius, he put to death thousands of men, women, and children. But the obstinate courage and activity of the Jews was unbroken; they pursued their deliberate system of defence, so that, on the arrival of the famous Julius Severus to take the command, they were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, and 985 villages. But Severus had learned the art of war against desperate savages in Britain. He ventured on no general battle with an enemy now perhaps grown to an overwhelming force; but he attacked their strong holds in detail, cut off their supplies, and reduced them to the greatest distress by famine. Yet the Romans experienced, on their side, considerable losses; for Hadrian, whether with the army or in the neighbourhood, did not adopt the customary form in his despatches to the senate, “I rejoice if all is well with you and your children; with myself and the army all is well.” In Jerusalem the insurgents were disheartened and confounded by the sudden falling in of the vast subterranean vaults, where, according to tradition, the remains of Solomon were buried. It was reported that this had been the treasure-house as well as the sepulchre, of the Jewish kings, and stories were current that John Hyrcanus and Herod had successively violated the cemeteries, and enriched themselves with their spoils. Now

* There is no historical account of this event, though there seems little doubt of the fact. Tyschen and others have concluded, from extant coins, that he was in possession of Jerusalem for three years; if so, it was from 132 to 135. The coins, however, are of very doubtful date and authority.

their sudden fall not only made the Hill of Sion insecure, but was considered as of awful omen. The Romans, probably after a hard contest, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, and razed every building that remained to the ground; it was then, perhaps, if not before, that the plough was passed by Rufus over the devoted ground.

At length, the discipline of the Roman troops, and the consummate conduct of Severus, brought the war nearly to a close. The strong city of Bither alone remained, the metropolis and citadel of the insurgents. The situation of this city is not certainly known; it is placed by Eusebius near Beth-horon, by others near the sea. How long Bither stood out after the siege was actually formed, is equally uncertain. When affairs began to wear a gloomy aspect (thus write the Rabbins), Eliezer, the son of Hamadai, enjoined the besieged to seek their last resource, prayer to the God of their fathers. All day long the zealous Rabbi was on his knees. As long as he prayed, like Moses during the battle with the Amalekites in the desert, so long the Jews assumed new courage, and fought with unconquerable fury. A Samaritan undertook to silence by treachery the devout and prevailing Rabbi. He stole up to him where he was kneeling in prayer on a conspicuous eminence, and whispered some indistinct words in his ear. The vigilant Barcochab demanded what was the object of his message. The Rabbi could not answer. The Samaritan, after long pretended reluctance, declared that it was an answer to a secret message confided to him by the Rabbi, about capitulation. Barcochab commanded the Rabbi to be executed on the spot. This barbarous measure alienated and dispirited his followers. Bither was at length stormed, Barcochab was killed, and his head carried in triumph to the Roman camp. It was again on the fatal 9th of Ab (August), the anniversary of the double

destruction of Jerusalem, that Bither fell; it was razed to the ground.

Of the massacre the Rabbins tell frightful stories, but their horror is mitigated by their extravagance. More are said to have fallen at Bither than escaped with Moses from Egypt. The horses waded up to their bits in carnage. Blood flowed so copiously, that the stream carried stones weighing four pounds into the sea, according to their account, forty miles distant. The dead covered eighteen square miles, and the inhabitants of the adjacent region had no need to manure their ground for seven years. A more trustworthy authority, Dio Cassius, states, that during the whole war the enormous number of 580,000 fell by the sword, not including those who perished by famine, disease, and fire. The whole of Judea was a desert, wolves and hyenas went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Those who escaped the sword were scarcely more fortunate; they were reduced to slavery by thousands. There was a great fair held under a celebrated Terebinth, which tradition had consecrated as the very tree under which Abraham had pitched his tent. Thither his miserable children were brought in droves, and sold as cheap as horses. Others were carried away and sold at Gaza; others transported to Egypt. The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic. He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and of the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flogged alive, and then put to death. The most furious persecution was commenced

against all the Rabbins, who were considered the authors and ringleaders of the insurrection. Chanania the son of Theradion was detected reading and expounding the Law ; he was burned with the book which he was reading. It was forbidden to fill up the number of the great Synagogue, or Sanhedrin ; but Akiba, just before his death, had named five new members ; and Judah the son of Bava secretly nominated others in a mountain glen, where he had taken refuge. Soldiers were sent to surprise Judah ; he calmly awaited their coming, and was transfixed by 300 spears.

Hadrian, to annihilate for ever all hopes of the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, accomplished his plan of founding a new city on the site of Jerusalem, peopled by a colony of foreigners. The city was called *Ælia Capitolini* ; *Ælia* after the praenomen of the emperor, *Capitolini* as dedicated to the Jupiter of the Capitol. An edict was issued, prohibiting any Jew from entering the new city on pain of death, or even approaching its environs, so as to contemplate even at a distance its sacred height. More effectually to keep them away, the image of a swine was placed over the gate leading to Bethlehem. The more peaceful Christians were permitted to establish themselves within the walls, and *Ælia* became the seat of a flourishing church and bishoprick.

BOOK XIX.

THE PATRIARCH OF THE WEST, AND THE PRINCE OF
THE CAPTIVITY.

Re-establishment of the Community—Patriarch of Tiberias—his Power and Dominions—Jews in Egypt—Asia Minor—Greece—Italy—Spain—Gaul—Germany—Origin and Nature of the Rabbinical Authority—The Worship of the Synagogue—Early History of the Patriarchate—Civil Contests—Contests with the Babylonian Jews—Relation with Rome.

FOR the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extinguish, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. It might have appeared impossible that any thing like a community should again revive within Palestine; still more so, that the multitudes of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world, should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmixed race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, which is the usual fate of small bodies of strangers, settled in remote and unconnected regions. In less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organized communities; one under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Gibbon has briefly stated the growth of the former of these principalities with his usual general accuracy, as

regards facts, though the relation is coloured by his usual sarcastic tone, in which the bitter antipathy of his school to the Jewish race is strongly marked “ Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honours, and to obtain, at the same time, an exemption from the burthen-some and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sab-baths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic Law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming

out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade: and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.”*

Unfortunately, it is among the most difficult parts of Jewish history to trace the growth of the patriarchal authority established in Tiberias, and its recognition by the whole scattered body of the nation, who, with disinterested zeal, and, we do not scruple to add, a noble attachment to the race of Israel, became voluntary subjects and tributaries to their spiritual sovereign, and united with one mind and one heart to establish their community on a settled basis. It is a singular spectacle to behold a nation dispersed in every region of the world, without murmur or repugnance, submitting to the regulations, and taxing themselves to support the greatness of a supremacy which rested solely on public opinion, and had no temporal power whatever to enforce its decrees. It was not long before the Rabbins, who had been hunted down with unrelenting cruelty, began to creep forth from their places of concealment; the death of Hadrian, in a few years after the termination of the war, and the accession of the mild Antoninus, gave them courage, not merely to make their public appearance, but openly to re-establish their schools and synagogues.

* According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Aeneas, king of Carthage. Another colony of Idumeans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.—*Gibbon's note.* The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are probably more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the stories in the Talmud are not history, in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and, perhaps, embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed.

The school of Jamnia, called the vineyard, because the scholars stood in regular rows, was reopened, and the Jewish youth crowded to the feet of their acknowledged teachers. Of the Rabbins who were considered legitimate members of the great Sanhedrin, there escaped the storm, Simon the son of Gamaliel, who had an hereditary title to the presidency (he is said to have been the only young scholar who escaped the wreck of Bither): five who had been named by Judah the son of Bava, Judah the son of Ilai, Simon the son of Jochai, R. Jose, R. Elasar, R. Nehemiah, and lastly, R. Meir. The first pious care of the Rabbins was to obtain permission to perform funeral rites for their brethren; this indulgence was long celebrated by a thanksgiving in their daily prayers: their next, to obtain an abrogation of the persecuting edicts. For this purpose Simon Ben Jochai, and a youth of great promise, were sent to Rome. This journey is adorned with the customary fables. They obtained the favour of the emperor by a miraculous cure of his sick daughter. It is certain, however, that Antoninus issued an edict which permitted the Jews to perform the rite of circumcision; but, as though he apprehended that the religion of this despised people might still make proselytes, they were forbidden to initiate strangers into the family of Israel.* Still it should seem that in Palestine they were watched with jealous vigilance. A story is related of the fall of the school in Jamnia (Jabne), which shows as well the unruly spirit of the Jews, as the rigorous police of the Romans. Simon Ben Jochai, who appears to have been by no means a safe person to be intrusted with a mission to Rome, makes a

* Perhaps the confusion between the Jews and Christians, whose rapid progress excited great alarm, might be the real cause of this limitation; or it might be aimed at the Judaizing Christians, who insisted on circumcising their new converts; though, after all, it is by no means improbable that Judaism still made proselytes from the heathen.

prominent figure in the narrative. During a public debate, at which R. Jehuda, R. Jose, and R. Simon Ben Jochai were present, the topic of discussion was the national character of their Roman masters. The cautious Jehuda turned the dangerous subject to their praise, on those points on which a Jew might conscientiously admire his oppressors. "How splendid," he exclaimed, "are the public works of this people! In every city they have built spacious market-places for the public use, for the commerce, and for the amusement of the inhabitants. They throw noble bridges over the rivers, and thus unite separate provinces, and facilitate the mutual intercourse of distant regions. How beautiful are their baths, which contribute as much to the health as to the enjoyment of the people!" Thus spoke R. Jehuda, the president. The fiery Simon Ben Jochai sprang up, and cried aloud, "Why this adulatory encomium on heathens? For what purpose are all these works erected, but to gratify their own rapacity and facilitate their exactions? Why do they build spacious market-places but for the assembling together of harlots to gratify their licentiousness? Their baths are erected only for their own sensual delights; their bridges, that their collectors of tribute may pass from land to land. *We* occupy ourselves in Divine lore; *we* study eternal and disregard temporal advantages."

The consequence of this imprudent speech was a formal accusation before the authorities. Simon was adjudged to have forfeited his life. R. Jose, because he had maintained a suspicious silence, was banished. R. Jehuda alone obtained a general license to teach. Simon fled, but the school was suppressed. Another proof of the perpetual apprehension of insurrection is thus related. The trumpet blast, which was sounded at the commencement of the month Tisri, awakened the suspicion of a governor, ignorant of Hebrew customs: it was

reported to be a signal for general revolt. The governor was appeased by a prudent arrangement of Simon the son of Gamaliel, who ordered that the trumpet should sound, not at the commencement, only in the middle of the prayers, thus clearly forming part of the service.

Nor was the reign of the philosophic M. Aurelius without danger, perhaps not without well-grounded suspicion of the Jews. The victories of Avidius Cassius over Vologeses, king of Parthia, and the capture of Ctesiphon, after a long siege, brought the Mesopotamian Jews once more under the dominion of Rome. Seleucia, in which there were many Jews, capitulated, but in violation of the terms, four or five thousand persons were put to the sword. Cassius assumed the purple in Syria: the Jews are supposed to have joined his standard; for Marcus Aurelius, though he displayed his characteristic lenity towards the Roman insurgents, punished the intractable Jews with the repeal of the favourable laws of Antoninus Pius. Their conduct seems to have ruffled the temper of the philosophic emperor, who declared that they were more unruly than the wild Sauromatae and Marcomanni, against whom he was engaged in war. Yet these severe laws were either speedily annulled, or never carried into execution. The Rabbinical dominion gradually rose to greater power; the schools flourished: perhaps in this interval the great synagogue or Sanhedrin had its other migrations, from Osha to Shepharaam, from Shepharaam to Bethshaaraim, from Bethshaaraim to Sepphoris, and finally to Tiberias, where it fixed its pontifical throne, which maintained its supremacy for several centuries. Tiberias, it may be remembered, was a town built by Herod Antipas, over an ancient cemetery, and therefore abominated by the more scrupulous Jews, as a dwelling of uncleanness. But the Rabbins soon obviated this objection. Simon Ben Jochai, by his cabalistic art, discovered the exact

spot where the burial-place had been; this was marked off, and the rest of the city declared, on the same unerring authority, to be clean. Here then, in this noble city, on the shore of the sea of Galilee, the Jewish pontiff fixed his throne; the Sanhedrin, if it had not, as the Jews pretend, existed during all the reverses of the nation, was formally re-established. Simon, the son and heir of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the Patriarch of the Jews, and Nasi or President of the Sanhedrin. R. Nathan was the Ab-beth-din; and the celebrated R. Meir, the Hachim, or Head of the Law. In every region of the West, in every province of the Roman empire, the Jews of every rank and class submitted, with the utmost readiness, to the sway of their spiritual potentate. His mandates were obeyed, his legates received with honour, his supplies levied without difficulty, in Rome, in Spain, in Africa. At a somewhat later period, probably about the reign of Alexander Severus, the Christian writer, Origen, thus describes the power of the Jewish Patriarch. "Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didraehm, how great, by the permission of Cæsar is the power of their Ethnarch! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king. For they secretly pass judgments according to their Law; and some are capitally condemned, not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the emperor. This I have learned, and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."

Here then it may be well to take a survey of these dominions of the Western Patriarch, to ascertain, as far as possible, the origin and condition of the different settlements of Jews in Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, the constitution of their societies, and the nature of the authority exercised by the supreme pontiff.

It will have been seen, in many incidental notices,

that long before the dissolution of the Jewish state, before the promulgation of Christianity, this people were widely dispersed over the whole face of the globe. The following passage of Philo, in his letter of Agrippa, which might be confirmed by other quotations from Josephus, describes their state in his own days (the reign of Caligula) : “ Jerusalem is the city of my ancestors, the metropolis, not only of Judea, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlesyria ; and into more distant regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greatest part of Asia Minor, as far as Bithynia, and the remote shores of the Euxine ; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and those the best, parts of the Peloponnesus ; and not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates ; for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon and the Satrapies of the rich adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants.” The events of the Jewish history in Palestine tended to increase rather than diminish the number of those who were either dragged away as captives, or sought peace and security from the devastation of their native land, in the less troubled provinces of the empire. Even where they suffered most, through their own turbulent disposition, or the enmity of their neighbours, they sprang again from their undying stock, however it might be hewn by the sword, or seared by the fire. Massacre seemed to have no effect in thinning their ranks ; and, like their forefathers in Egypt, they still multiplied under the most cruel oppression. In Egypt and Cyrene indeed, they had experienced the greatest losses, but on the visit of Hadrian to Alexandria, he found the city and country still swarming with Jews. The

origin and history of the Egyptian, as well as of the Syrian Jews, has been already traced. The Jews of Asia Minor owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great, who settled great numbers in the different cities in that region. From Asia Minor, they probably spread to Greece and to the islands. The clearest notion of their numbers in all this part of the world, including Galatia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, may be found from the narrative of the Apostolic journeys. Whatever city Paul enters, he seems to find a synagogue, and a number of his countrymen, many of whom were powerful and opulent. We need only name the cities of Ephesus, Laodicea, Pergamus, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is probable that in Asia Minor and in Alexandria, the later Jews first generally adopted their commercial habits; but their condition was much more secure in the former country than among the fiery inhabitants of the factious Egyptian city. Many public decrees are extant, not only of the Roman authorities, particularly Julius Cæsar, which secure important privileges to the Jewish residents in Asia Minor, but likewise local ordinances of the different cities, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Miletus, highly favourable to these foreign denizens and seeming to show that the two races lived together on terms of perfect amity. In some of the occurrences related in the Acts of the Apostles, the Jews in those times appear a considerable and influential, by no means the proscribed and odious race, which they were held in other quarters. The public decrees usually gave them the title of Roman citizens, a privilege to which many of the Jews (the well-known instance of St. Paul will occur to every one) had undoubtedly attained. It was their great object to obtain exemption from military service. In other times they do not seem to have objected to enroll themselves in the armies of their rulers. Some are said to have been in

Alexander's army ; and an improbable story is told, by a doubtful authority, Hecataeus, of their refusing and obtaining exemption from being employed in building an idolatrous temple in Babylon. The striking story of Mosellama is more authentic.* But most likely, having betaken themselves to the more lucrative occupations of peace, at later periods they pleaded that it was contrary to their religion to fight or to work, or even to march on the Sabbath, and that they could not partake of the same meat with the other soldiers : their plea seems to have been admitted. Of their wealth we have a curious evidence. Their contributions to the Temple were so ample as to excite the jealous rapacity of the Roman governor. Cicero, in a memorable oration, vindicates Flaccus for not having permitted the provinces to be drained of their wealth for such a purpose, and holds up his example to other governors, complaining that Italy itself suffered by the exportation of so much wealth.

The origin of the Jews in Italy, or rather in Rome, is very obscure. It is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey, after his conquest of Jerusalem. These slaves were publicly sold in the markets ; yet if we are to believe Philo, they were emancipated almost without exception by their tolerant masters, who were unwilling to do violence to their religious scruples. Is it not more probable, that there were some, if not many, opulent commercial Jews already in Rome, who with their usual national spirit, purchased, to the extent of their means, their unhappy countrymen, and enabled them to settle in freedom in the great metropolis ? The passage in Cicero, alluded to

* While some Greek soldiers were watching with superstitious anxiety the flight of a bird, which was to be of good or evil omen, they were horror-struck to see it fall, transfixed by the arrow of their Jewish comrade. The Jew calmly answered, How much must yonder bird have known the secrets of futurity, which knew not how to avoid the arrow of Mosellama the Jew !

above, is conclusive evidence to the wealth of the Jewish community in Italy. However that may be, it is certain that a vast number of Jewish libertines or freed slaves, inhabited Rome. Tacitus states their number at 4000. It appears from Josephus, as we have seen, that 8000 were present when Archelaus appeared before Augustus, and a vast number poured out to welcome the false Alexander. They formed the chief population of the Trans-tiberine region.* They shared (that is, the less wealthy) in the general largess of corn which was distributed among the poorer inhabitants of the city; by a special favour of Augustus,† if the distribution fell on a Sabbath, their portion was reserved. They were expelled by Tiberius, and a great number drafted off as soldiers to the unwholesome island of Sardinia; by Caligula they were oppressed; by Claudius once more expelled, or at least their synagogues closed on account of the feuds between the Jews and Christians. Yet here, as well as elsewhere, oppression and persecution seemed not to be the slightest check to their increase. They had a sort of council or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dispute. To this, no doubt, either in the synagogue or law court attached to it, St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct. The numbers of the Jews in Rome were doubtless much increased, but their respectability, as well as their popularity, much diminished, by the immense influx of the most destitute as well as the most unruly of the race, who were swept into captivity by thousands after the fall of Jerusalem. The lan-

* It is amusing to see the malicious satisfaction with which Basnaga attempts to prove, against his Roman Catholic opponents, that they were possessors of the Vatican.

† It seems to have been the amusement of the idle youth of Rome to visit the Jewish synagogue. The well known passage in the tenth satire of Horace, will occur to the classical reader. Though we have some doubts whether the Judaism of the poet's friend, Fusco as Aristius, has not been inferred on insufficient grounds.

guage of the incidental notices which occur about the Jews in the Latin authors, after this period, seems more contemptuous, and implies that many of them were in the lowest state of penury, the outcasts of society. Juvenal bitterly complains that the beautiful and poetic grove of Egeria, was let out to mendicant hordes of Jews, who pitched their camps, like gipsies, in the open air, with a wallet, and a bundle of hay for their pillow, as their only furniture. Martial alludes to their filth, and what is curious enough, describes them as pedlers, and venders of matches, which they trafficked for broken glass.

Of their establishment in the other provinces in the Roman empire, we have no certain information. In the middle ages, the most extraordinary fables were invented, concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain. Those relating to the latter country may serve as a specimen. There they claimed descent from maritime adventurers in the time of Solomon, or from a part of their race transported to that country when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Spain!* Hebrew derivations were found for many of the Spanish cities, which proved to the satisfaction even of later antiquaries, the early settlement of the Jews in that region; forgetting entirely the close affinity of the Phœnician and Punic dialects with the Hebrew, and the successive occupation of, at least maritime, Spain, by these kindred nations. In fact, the Jews spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as freemen, with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Some, no doubt, obtained their livelihood by reputable traffic or industry, and attained to opulence; others were

* These fables were probably invented for the purpose of excusing themselves with the Christians, as, having long before been separated from the nation, they could not have borne any part in the guilt of the crucifixion of Christ. When the Christians took Toledo, this plea was urged; perhaps it was invented at that time.

adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained their subsistence. The heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unsocial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them, and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more destitute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling ; many half impostors and half enthusiasts gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative improvement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.

Yet in some points all of Hebrew blood, rich and poor, high and low, concurred ; in their faithful attachment to their synagogue, their strict subordination to their religious teachers, and through their synagogue and teachers to the great spiritual head of their community, the Patriarch of Tiberias. Wherever Jews resided, a synagogue might be, and usually was, formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Patriarch. These Legates were called Apostles ; the office probably existed before the fall of Jerusalem ; the Apostle collected the contributions for the Temple. They had authority to regulate all the differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, in every synagogue, commanding the payment of the tribute ; its final day of settlement was on the last day of May. On the return of these Legates, they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as counsellors, and held a distinguished rank among the

people. The early Christians accuse the Jews of having sent messengers throughout the world, for the purpose of anathematizing them in their synagogues, and uttering a solemn curse upon the name of Jesus Christ. It is by no means unlikely that these Legates received instructions to warn all the faithful Israelites against the detested innovation, and to counteract by every means in their power the progress of the new religion. No doubt the rapid growth of Christianity tended to strengthen the power of the synagogue, by constantly keeping alive the vigilance and inflaming the zeal of the more steadfast and ardent adherents to the Law. Indeed the point which mitigates, more than any other, our compassion for the sufferings of the Jews, is the readiness with which they joined the heathen in the persecution of the Christians. Too often the Jews, though themselves eating the bitter bread of slavery, and instructed in the best school for the humarer feelings, adversity, were seen rejoicing by the stake of the expiring Christian. In the beautiful description of the death of Polycarp, there is a frightful incident of the Jews howling around the body of the holy martyr.

The worship of the synagogue, with its appendant school or law court, where lectures were given, and knotty points of the law debated, became the great bond of national union, and has continued, though the monarchical centre of unity in Tiberias disappeared in a few centuries, to hold together the scattered nation in the closest uniformity. The worship of the synagogue is extremely simple. Wherever ten Jews were found, there a synagogue ought to be formed. The Divine Presence, the invisible Shechinah, descends not but where ten are met together; if fewer, the Divine Visitant was supposed to say, "Wherefore come I, and no one is here?" It was a custom, therefore, in some of the

more numerous communities, to appoint ten “men of leisure,” whose business it was to form a congregation.* The buildings were plain; in their days of freedom it was thought right that the house of prayer to God, from its situation or its form, should overtop the common dwellings of man; but in their days of humiliation, in strange countries, the lowly synagogue, the type of their condition, was content to lurk undisturbed in less conspicuous situations. Even in Palestine the synagogues must have been small, for Jerusalem was said to contain 460 or 480; the foreign Jews, from the different quarters of the world, seem each to have had their separate building, where they communicated in prayer with their neighbours and kindred. Such were the synagogues of the Alexandrians, the Cyrenians, and others. Besides the regular synagogues, which were roofed, in some places they had chapels or oratories, open to the air, chiefly perhaps where their worship was not so secure of protection from the authorities; these were usually in retired and picturesque situations, in groves, or on the sea-shore. In the distribution of the synagogue, some remote resemblance to the fallen Temple was kept up. The entrance was from the east; in the centre stood an elevated tribune or rostrum, in the place of the great altar, where they only permitted sacrifice, and if from an humble and contrite heart, doubtless most acceptable to their Almighty Father, prayer was constantly offered, and the book of the Law was read. At the west end stood a chest, in which the book was laid up, making the place, as it were, the humble Holy of Holies, though now no longer separated by a veil, nor protected by the Cherubim and Mercy Seat. Particular seats, usually galleries, were railed off for the women.

* Such seems to be the solution of a question on which learned volumes have been written.

The chief religious functionary in the synagogue was called the angel, or bishop. He ascended the tribune, repeated or chanted the prayers, his head during the ceremony being covered with a veil. He called the reader from his place, opened the book before him, pointed out the passage, and overlooked him, that he read correctly. The readers, who were three in number on the ordinary days, seven on the morning of the Sabbath, five on festivals, were selected from the body of the people. The Law of course was read, and the prayers likewise repeated, in the Hebrew language. The days of public service in the synagogue were the Sabbath, the second and fifth days of the week, Monday and Thursday. There was an officer in the synagogues out of Palestine, and probably even within its borders, called an interpreter, who translated the Law into the vernacular tongue, usually Greek in the first case, or Syro-Chaldaic in the latter. Besides the bishop, there were three elders, or rulers of the synagogue, who likewise formed a court or consistory for the judgment of all offences. They had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging ; from Origen's account, the Patriarch of Tiberias had assumed the power of life and death. But the great control over the public mind lay in the awful sentence of excommunication. The anathema of the synagogue cut off the offender from the Israel of God ; he became an outcast of society. The first process, usually, was the censure ; the name and the offence of the delinquent were read for four succeeding Sabbaths, during which he had time to make his peace with the congregation ; at the end of that period the solemn Niddui, or interdict, was pronounced, which for thirty days separated the criminal from the hopes and the privileges of Israel. For more heinous offences, and against contumacious delinquents, the more terrific Cherem, or the still more fatal Shammata, the ex-

communication, was proclaimed. The Cherem inflicted civil death; but on due repentance and reparation for the crime, the same authority which denounced, might repeal, the Cherem—the absolved offender was restored to life. But no power could cancel the irrevocable Shammata. Some indeed have doubted whether the last sentence was ever pronounced, or even was known to the Law. Prudence would certainly have advised the disuse of a practice which might drive the desperate offender to seek that consolation in another faith which was irrevocably denied him in his own; the church would have opened its gates to receive him who was doomed to perpetual exile from the synagogue. The sentence of excommunication was couched in the most fearful phrases. The delinquent was excommunicated, anathematized, accursed—by the book of the Law, by the ninety-three precepts, by the malediction of Joshua against Jericho, by that of Elisha against the children who mocked him, and so on, through all the terrific threatenings of the ancient Law and history. He was accursed by the mysterious names of certain spirits of deadly power. He was accursed by heaven and earth, by the Seraphim, and by the heavenly orbs. “Let nothing good come out of him, let his end be sudden, let all creatures become his enemy, let the whirlwind crush him, the fever and every other malady and the edge of the sword smite him, let his death be unforeseen, and drive him into outer darkness.” Excommunication, as we have said, inflicted a civil death; how far, at least in the milder form, it excluded from the synagogue seems not quite clear. But no one except his wife and children might approach the moral leper—all others must avoid him the distance of a toise. If there be a dead body in his house, no one interts it; if a child be born, the father must circumcise it. Public detestation was not appeased by death. No one mourned him

who died excommunicated ; his coffin was stoned, and a heavy slab was placed over his remains by the hands of justice, either as a mark of infamy, or to prevent him from rising again at the last day. No doubt these spiritual terrors were often abused by the domineering Rabbi ; but it is as little to be questioned that they exercised a high moral influence. The excommunication smote the adulterer, or the unnatural father, who, in their striking language, more cruel than the ravens, neglected the children whom God had given.

The influence of the Rabbins was not grounded on the public services of religion alone. The whole course of education was committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence.* In all those interesting epochs of domestic life in which the heart is most open to impressions of reverence and attachment, the Rabbi, even where the ancient Levite had no office, had made himself an indispensable part of the ceremony. When the house rejoiced in the birth of a man-child, though circumcision was not necessarily performed in the synagogue, nor was the operator usually of that order, yet ill-omened and unblessed was the eighth-day feast which was not graced by the presence of a Rabbi. In marriages the Rabbi joined the hands, pledged the cup, and pronounced the seven prayers of benediction over the wedded pair. The Rabbi attended the sick, and consoled him with the assurance of the certain resurrection of all faithful Israelites to their exclusive Paradise ; and he attended at the interment of the dead. Nor was this all ; by degrees the whole life of the Jew was voluntarily enslaved

* The following is considered the authorized course of Jewish education. As soon as the children can speak they are taught certain religious axioms ; from three or four to six or seven they learn their letters ; at that age they go to school, and are taught to read the Pentateuch ; at ten they commence the Mischna ; at thirteen and one day they are considered responsible, and are bound to keep the 613 precepts of the Law ; at fifteen they study the Gemara, *i.e.* the Talmud ; at eighteen they marry ; at twenty they enter into business.

to more than brahminical or monkish minuteness of observance. Every day and every hour of the day, and every act of every hour, had its appointed regulations, grounded on distorted texts of Scripture, or the sentences of the wise men, and artfully moulded up with the national reminiscences of the past, or their distinctive hopes of the future, the divine origin of the Law, the privileges of God's chosen people, the restoration to the Holy City, the coming of the Messiah. The Jew with his early prayer was to prevent the rising sun; but more blessed he who encroached upon the night to lament, before the dawn, the fate of Jerusalem. His rising from his bed, his manner of putting on the different articles of dress, the disposition of his fringed talith, his phylacteries on his head and arms, his ablutions, his meals, even the calls of nature were subjected to scrupulous rules—both reminding him that he was of a peculiar race, and perpetually reducing him to ask the advice of the wise men, who alone could set at rest the trembling and scrupulous conscience. Nor was it enough that the all-seeing eye of God watched with jealous vigilance the minutest acts of his people; Rabbinical authority peopled the air with spirits of beneficent or malign aspect: the former might be revolted by the least uncleanness, the latter were ever ready to take advantage of every delinquency. The wise men alone were well acquainted with the nature, the orders, the powers, or the arts of these mysterious beings; and thus a new and unbounded field was opened for their interference. Such was the character of the Rabbinical dominion as it was gradually, though perhaps not as yet perfectly, developed. Such, for this dominion now assumed a monarchical form, was the kingdom of the Patriarch of Tiberias: in its boundaries as extensive as that of Rome, and founded on the strongest basis, the blind and zealous attachment of its subjects.

Before long the Sanhedrin of that city began to assume a loftier tone; their edicts were dated as from Jerusalem, their school was called Sion. But into this spiritual court, as into that of more splendid and worldly sovereigns, ambition and intrigue soon found their way. The monarch could not brook any constitutional limitation to his state or authority; the subordinate officers, the aristocracy of this singular state, were eager to usurp upon the throne. The first collision was on the all-important point of etiquette. No sooner was Simon, son of Gamaliel, quietly seated in the Patriarchate, than he began to assert or enlarge his prerogative. His Ab-beth-din, R. Nathan, and his Hachim, R. Meir, enjoyed a larger share of his state than he was willing to concede. When any one of these heads of the spiritual senate entered, the whole assembly was accustomed to rise, and to remain standing till he was seated. This equality of respect was galling to the pride of Simon; he determined to vindicate the superior dignity of his chair, and took an opportunity of moving, in the absence of the parties concerned, that the whole assembly should rise only on the entrance of the Patriarch, on that of the Ab-beth-din two rows, on that of the Hachim only one. The next time that R. Nathan and R. Meir made their appearance, this order was observed. The degrading innovation went to their hearts. They dissembled their resentment, but entered into a secret conspiracy to dethrone or to humiliate the unconstitutional despot. "He," said R. Meir, "who cannot answer every question which relates to the word of God, is not worthy to preside in the great Sanhedrin. Let us expose his ignorance, and so compel him to abdicate. Then you shall be Patriarch, and I your Ab-beth-din." In secret council they framed the most intricate and perplexing questions to confound the despot. Happily for him their conversation was overheard by a learned and friendly

member of the Sanhedrin, who began to discuss in a loud tone, so as to be heard by Simon in the neighbouring chamber, the points on which it was agreed to attack and perplex the overbearing Patriarch. At the next sitting, the rebels, Nathan and Meir, advanced to the charge with their formidable host of difficulties. To their confusion, Simon, forewarned, repulsed them on all points, and unravelled, with the utmost readiness, the most intricate questions. Simon triumphed, the rebellious Ab-beth-din and Hachim were expelled from the Sanhedrin. But still they kept up the war, and daily assailed the Patriarch with a new train of difficulties for which they required written answers. At length the civil contest ended through the intervention of the more moderate. The ex-Ab-beth-din and ex-Hachim were reinstated; but on the momentous point whether the whole Sanhedrin rose on their entrance, or only two rows, we deeply regret that we must leave the reader in the same lamentable ignorance with ourselves.

Not content, or rather flushed, with this advance towards unlimited monarchy in his own dominions, the high-minded Simon began to meditate schemes of foreign conquest. The independence or equality of the head of the Babylonian community haunted him, as that of the Patriarch of Constantinople did the early Popes, and a cause of quarrel curiously similar to that about the time on which Easter was to be kept, speedily arose. The schools of Babylonia and Palestine fell into an open schism concerning the calculation of the paschal feast. Simon determined to assert the superiority of the Patriarchate of Tiberias over his disobedient brethren. The scene is in the highest degree characteristic. It must however be premised, that it is by no means certain at what time the Princes of the Captivity commenced their dynasty. In the following story, Ahia appears as the head of the com-

munity: but probably the prince had not yet obtained the influence, or assumed the state, which, during the first fifty years of the third century, distinguished the Jewish sovereign of the East. Hananiah, who taught at Nahar-pakod, and Judah Ben Bethuriah, were the most eminent of the learned teachers in the schools of Babylon, and to humble their pride and bring them into subordination to the seat of learning in Tiberias, was the great object of the mission which was despatched by the Patriarch. The two Legates were furnished with three letters. They delivered the first to Hananiah, which bore the superscription "To your holiness." Delighted with their recognition of a title considered of high importance, Hananiah courteously inquired the reason of their coming.—"To learn your system of instruction." Still more flattered, Hananiah received the ambassadors with the utmost cordiality, and commended them to the people, as worthy of every honour, both as descendants of the High Priest (for the Patriarch of Tiberias claimed his lineage from Aaron), and for their own personal merit. When the treacherous Legates had secured their ground in the good opinion of the people, they began to controvert the judgments of Hananiah, to animadvernt on his opinions, and to lessen him by every means in the public estimation. Hananiah, enraged at this abuse of his kindness, summoned a second assembly of the people, and denounced the Legates as traitors and ignorant men. The people replied, "That which thou hast built thou canst not so soon pull down; the hedge which thou hast planted thou canst not pluck up without injury to thyself." Hananiah demanded their objections to his system of instruction. They answered, "Thou hast dared to fix intercalations and new moons, by which great inconformities have arisen between the brethren in Babylonia and Palestine." "So did Rabbi Akiba," said Hananiah, "when in Babylon."

"Akiba," they rejoined, "left not his like in Palestine." "Neither," cried the desperate Rabbi, "have I left my equal in Palestine." The Legates produced their second letter, which ran in these mysterious words. "That which thou leftest a kid is grown up a strong-horned goat;" it meant that the Sanhedrin, which he left without power, had regained all its authority. Hananiah was struck dumb. R. Isaac, one of the deputies, saw his time, he mounted the Tribune, from which the Law was usually read. "These," he said, naming them, "are the holy days of God—these the holy days of Hananiah!" An indistinct murmur ran through the synagogue. R. Nathan, the second deputy, arose and read the verse of Isaiah, "Out of Sion goeth forth the Law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." Then, with a bitter intonation, "Out of Babylon goeth forth the Law, the word of God from Nahar-pakod." The assembly was in an uproar. "Alter not the word of God," was the universal cry. The Legates followed up their advantage and produced their third letter, which threatened excommunication against the factious opponents of their authority. They added these emphatic words:—"The *learned* have sent us, and commanded us thus to say: if he will submit, well; if not, utter at once the interdict. So likewise set the choice before our brethren in foreign parts. If they will stand by us, well; if not, let them ascend their high places; let Ahia build them an altar, and Hananiah (he was of Levitical descent) sing at the sacrifice, and let them at once set themselves apart and say, we have no portion in the Israel of God." From all sides an instantaneous cry arose, "Heaven preserve us from heresy—we have still a portion in the Israel of God." The authority of the Sanhedrin in Tiberias was universally recognised. Judah Ben Bethuriah, as well as Hananiah, was forced to bow to the yoke; and till the political separation of the Babylonian from the

Western Jews, on the restoration of the Persian monarchy, for the province had now been again brought under the Roman dominion by the conquests of Verus, the Patriarch of Tiberias maintained his uncontested supremacy over the whole Jewish community. In the preceding history, both in the object and the manner in which it was conducted, we are almost tempted to inquire whether it is not a scene borrowed from the annals of the Papal Church.

But before we describe the re-establishment of the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, in all the state and splendour of an oriental sovereign, far outshining, at least in pomp, his rival sovereign in Tiberias, we return to the West to trace the history of the Palestinian Jews, as connected with that of their Roman masters. During all the later conflicts with Rome, the Samaritans had escaped by quiet submission the miseries which had so perpetually fallen on their more unruly brethren; they had obtained the rights of Roman citizenship for their fidelity. During the first establishment of the Rabbinical dominion at Tiberias, its chiefs had displayed an unprecedented degree of liberality towards their once detested neighbours. Though they sarcastically denominated them "the proselytes of the lions," yet they would inhabit the same city, sleep in the same house, eat at the same table, and even partake of animals which they had killed. This unusual mildness rested on the authority of R. Akiba, and seems to strengthen the suspicion that it was grounded on policy, and that the enterprising Rabbi had laid a deliberate scheme of uniting in one league all who claimed Jewish descent. But this amity between the two hostile sects was but transient. One Rabbi declared that it was better to use water for an offering than Samaritan wine. Another, in their own city, openly accused them of worshipping idols on Gerizim; he hardly escaped

with his life. Political circumstances increased the jealousies, which at last broke out into open hostilities, and opportunities occurred in which they might commit mutual acts of violence, without the interference of the ruling powers.

In one of the great contests for the empire, they espoused opposite parties. The Samaritans, unfortunately for themselves, were on the losing side. Pescennius Niger had assumed the purple in Syria. The Jews presented a petition for the reduction of their taxation. "Ye demand," said the stern Roman, "exemption from tribute for your soil; I will lay it on the air you breathe." The Samaritans took up arms for Niger, the Jews threw themselves into the party of Severus. That able general soon triumphed over all opposition, and severely punished the partisans of his rival: The Samaritans forfeited their privilege of Roman citizenship. The presence of the emperor overawed the conflicting factions, though Severus himself was in great danger from a daring robber of the country, named Claudius, who boldly rode into his camp, saluted and embraced him, and before orders could be given for his seizure, had escaped. Severus celebrated a Jewish triumph, probably on account of the general pacification of the province. His laws were favourable to the Jews. The edict of Antonine was re-enacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes. The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of Pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and they were exempt from burthens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of the Holy City, and their general condition is thus described by Tertullian, who wrote during the reign of Severus. "Dispersed and vagabond, exiled from their native soil and air, they wander over the face of the earth, without a king, either human or divine; and even as strangers they

are not permitted to salute with their footsteps their native land."

The Jews and Christians contest the honour of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla.* If this tyrant indeed sucked the milk of Christian gentleness, his savage disposition turned it to gall. According to the Rabbinical legends, he was so attached to his Jewish playmates, as to have shed tears when one of them was whipped by order of the emperor. Indeed, for several reigns, Judaism might boast its influence on the imperial throne. Among the strange medley of foreign superstitions with which the filthy Heliogabalus offended even the easy and tolerant religion of his Roman subjects, he adopted the Jewish usages of circumcision and abstinence from swine's flesh. And, in the reign of the good Alexander Severus, that beautiful oasis in the desert of this period of the imperial history, the Jews enjoyed the equal protection and the favour of the virtuous sovereign. Abraham, as well as Christ, had his place in the emperor's gallery of divinities, or men worthy of divine honours. Alexander was even called the Father of the Synagogue.

In the mean time, the Patriarchal throne had been ascended by the most celebrated of the Rabbinical sovereigns; Jehuda, sometimes called the Nasi or Patriarch, sometimes the Holy, sometimes emphatically the Rabbi, succeeded his father, Simon son of Gamaliel. Jehuda is said to have been born on the

* Jost, in his "Geschichte der Israeliten seit der zeit der Maccabæer," conceives that the strange stories in the Jewish writers, about the intercourse between one of the Antonines, most assert the first, the Pious, with the head of the Sanhedrin of Tiberias, and his secret Judaism, are grounded on this tale of Caracalla. We take the opportunity of expressing our obligation to this work, which has been of the greatest use in the composition of this last volume of our History. We differ from Jost, who is a pupil of Eichhorn, on many points, particularly the composition of the older Scriptures; but we gladly bear testimony to the high value of his work, which, both in depth of research and arrangement, is far superior to the desultory, and by no means *trustworthy* volumes of Banage.

day on which R. Akiba died; an event predicted, according to his admirers, in the verse of Solomon. "*One sun oriseth, and one sun goeth down.*" Akiba was the setting—Jehuda the dawning sun. He was secretly circumcised, in defiance of the law of Hadrian. His whole life was of the most spotless purity; hence he was called the Holy, or the Holiest of the Holy. R. Jehuda was the author of a new constitution to the Jewish people. He embodied in the celebrated Mischna, or Code of traditional Law, all the authorized interpretations of the Mosaic Law, the traditions, the decisions of the learned, and the precedents of the courts or schools. It is singular that this period is distinguished by the labours of the great Roman lawyers, in the formation of a code of jurisprudence for the whole empire. It might seem as if the Jews, constituting thus, as it were, an *imperium in imperio*, a state within a state, were ambitious of providing themselves with their own Pandects, either in emulation of their masters, or lest their subjects might discover the superior advantage of a written code, over the arbitrary decisions of the Rabbinical interpreters of their original polity. The sources from which the Mischna was derived, may give a fair view of the nature of the Rabbinical authority, and the manner in which it had superseded the original Mosaic constitution. The Mischna was grounded, 1. On the written Law of Moses. 2. On the oral Law, received by Moses on Mount Sinai; and handed down, it was said, by uninterrupted tradition. 3. The decisions or maxims of the Wise Men. 4. Opinions of particular individuals on which the Schools were divided, and which still remained open. 5. Ancient usages and customs. The distribution of the Mischna affords a curious exemplification of the intimate manner in which the religious and civil life of the Jews were interwoven, and of the authority assumed by the Law over every transaction of life. The first book

considers the people as cultivators of the soil, and appears to imply that they were still, to a considerable extent, landed proprietors in Palestine. It regulates all affairs of husbandry; trees, fruits, seeds &c. The second book relates to festivals and holidays. The third contains the statutes relating to marriage and the female sex. The fourth considers the Jew chiefly in his commercial character; it defines the law of property, exchange, damage, loss, restitution. The fifth treats of holy things, oblations, vows, &c. The sixth on things clean and unclean.

As the object of this great work was to fix, once for all, on undoubted authority, the whole unwritten Law, some of the more zealous Rabbins reprobated this measure of Jehuda the Holy, as tending to supersede or invalidate their own personal weight. But the multiplication of written statutes enlarges rather than contracts the province of the lawyer; a new field was opened for ingenuity, and comment was speedily heaped upon the Mischna, till it was buried under its weight, as the Mosaic Law had been before by the Mischna. The interpreters of the Mischna assumed a particular name, the Tanaim. In fact, the acknowledgment of the Mischna as a sort of new constitution, powerfully contributed to the maintenance of the Rabbinical authority after the fall of the Patriarchate and the extinction of the schools. It threw back the written Law into a sort of reverential and mysterious obscurity. Never was such honour paid to the books of Moses as by the Rabbins of Tiberias, or such labour employed in their preservation; every letter was counted, every dot, every iota sanctified, as perhaps of the deepest import; but they were dark oracles, whose profound meaning could not be caught by the vulgar ear; while the formal, and as it were constitutional, recognition of the unwritten Law, as embodied in the Mischna, became the popular and practical code,

until the more voluminous Talmud superseded, in its turn, the Mischna. Those ponderous tomes became at once the religious and civil institutes of the Jewish people, and swayed the Jews with as uncontested authority as the Acts of the Saints and the canon law the nations of Christian Europe.

In the mean time, the rival throne in Babylonia, that of the Prince of the Captivity, was rapidly rising to the state and dignity which perhaps did not attain its perfect height till under the Persian monarchs. There seems to have been some acknowledged hereditary claim in R. Houa, who now appears as the Prince of the Captivity, as if his descent from the house of David had been recognised by the willing credulity of his brethren. At least, if any reliance is to be placed on a speech attributed to R. Jehuda, that if R. Houa were to make his appearance, he should do homage to him: a submission which would not, it may be thought, have been extorted from the Patriarch of Tiberias, even the modest and humble R. Jehuda, unless general opinion had invested the rival chieftain with some peculiar sanctity. The Prince of the Captivity might recall in his splendour, particularly during his inauguration, some lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy, under the ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingly mingled with allusions to their present state of degradation. The ceremonial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual heads of the people, the masters of the learned schools, the elders, and the people assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendour, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The Prince was seated on a lofty throne. The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha on his right-hand and left. These chiefs the learned men then delivered an address

exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty for he was Prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying on of hands, and the sound of trumpets and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath, all the principal people assembled before his house; he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the synagogue. Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he read the first line; afterward he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations, and prayers to God that, under the new Prince, he would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The Prince gave his blessing to the people; and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice, lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs; for he prayed for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The Prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose and continued standing till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the invidious distinction; he walked in humble and sub-

missive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendour: he was arrayed in cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews who met him on the way paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers, as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the Prince approached the imperial throne, he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him, and placed him on the left hand of the sovereign. After the first salutation, the Prince represented the grievances or discussed the affairs of his people.

The court of the Resch-Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counsellors, and cup-bearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which, in ancient times, was paid for the Temple in Jerusalem. His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. Asinai and Asilai, it will be recollect, were weavers. It is said, indeed, in the usual figurative style, of a Jew merchant of Babylon, that he had 1000 vessels on the sea, and 1000 cities on land. They prided themselves on their learning as well as their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts, is uncertain. The limits of Persia form

an insuperable barrier to our knowledge; and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mahomet found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones; but this subject will come under our notice when we consider the influence of the progress of Mahometanism, as connected with the History of the Jews. All other accounts of oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure,* so entirely or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed; but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice,—the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequent, to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries; but, unfortunately, the Father Gozani, who had the best opportunity of obtaining accurate information both as to their history and the manuscripts of the Law which they possessed, was ignorant of the Hebrew language. It was inferred from their tradition, in our opinion somewhat hastily, that Jews had been settled in the country 249 years before the Christian era. More authentic statements fixed their introduction into the empire towards the close of the reign of Mingti, of the dynasty of Han, who reigned from 58 to 75, A. C. They were originally 70 *sings* or families, and settled in the cities of Nimpo, Ning-hiu, Hamtcheu, Peking, and Caifongfou. Only seven remained in the middle of the seventeenth century; all in the latter city, the capital of Honan. They came from Si-yu, the

* That there were Par bian, as well as Elamite (Persian), and Meso-potamian Jews, is clear from the Acts of the Apostles: the traditions of Christianity assert the early propagation of the faith in those regions, which intimates, we are inclined to think, that the Jews were numerous, but it is known which is either distinct or certain.

west country, and their Hebrew language betrayed evident signs of corruption from the introduction of Persian words. They could not have been of the earlier dispersion, for they had the book of Ezra, and highly reverenced his name. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success; and some of them, as it was attested by extant inscriptions, had been highly honoured with the imperial favour, and had attained the rank of mandarins. One of these inscriptions, bearing date in 1515, praises the Jews for their integrity and fidelity, in agricultural pursuits, in traffic, in the magistracy, and in the army, and their punctual observance of their own religious ceremonies: it assures them of the emperor's high esteem. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius; and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers, with religious reverence, on tablets inscribed with their names; in other respects they were strict Jews: they observed the Sabbath, lighting no fire, and preparing their food on the preceding day: they practised circumcision on the eighth day: they intermarried only among themselves. They believe, according to the Jesuit, in Purgatory, Hell, Paradise, the Resurrection, and the last Judgment; in Angels, Cherubim, and Seraphim. They neither make, nor attempt to make, proselytes. Their sacred edifice (a remarkable fact) resembles much more the Temple than the modern synagogue. It is situated in an open space, among pavilions or avenues of trees. It consists of a nave and two aisles; the centre is divided into a holy place, and a Holy of Holies, which is square without and circular within: here are deposited the books of the Law,* and the sacred chamber is only entered by

* The learned Baron de Sacy has clearly shown that the existing copies of the sacred writings among the Chinese Jews, imperfect as

the chief priest. The chief priest is not distinguished by any splendour of apparel, only by a red belt of silk, which passes over his right and under his left shoulder. They chant the sacred Scripture and their prayers, as Father Cozani had heard the Jews in Italy. They entertain distinct though remote hopes of the coming of the Messiah. Such, in a brief outline, is the history of one branch of this extraordinary people; thus in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the old world, resisting the common laws by which nations seem to be absorbed into each other. However opposite the institutions, the usages, the manners of the people among whom they dwell; whether the government be mild or intolerant; the Jews, equally inflexible and unsocial, maintain their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The same principles operate on the banks of the Yellow River, and on those of the Tiber or the Seine; the Jew, severed for ages from all intercourse with his brethren, amid the inaccessible regions of the Celestial empire, in most respects, remains as he would have been if he had continued to inhabit the valleys of Palestine, under the constant and immediate superintendence of the national chief of his religion, the Patriarch of Tiberias.

they are, are not older than the year 1620, A. C. Their former sacred books had been destroyed, first by an inundation of the Great Yellow River in 1446, afterward by a fire about 1600, and lastly, those they possess were greatly damaged by a second inundation in 1642.

BOOK XX.

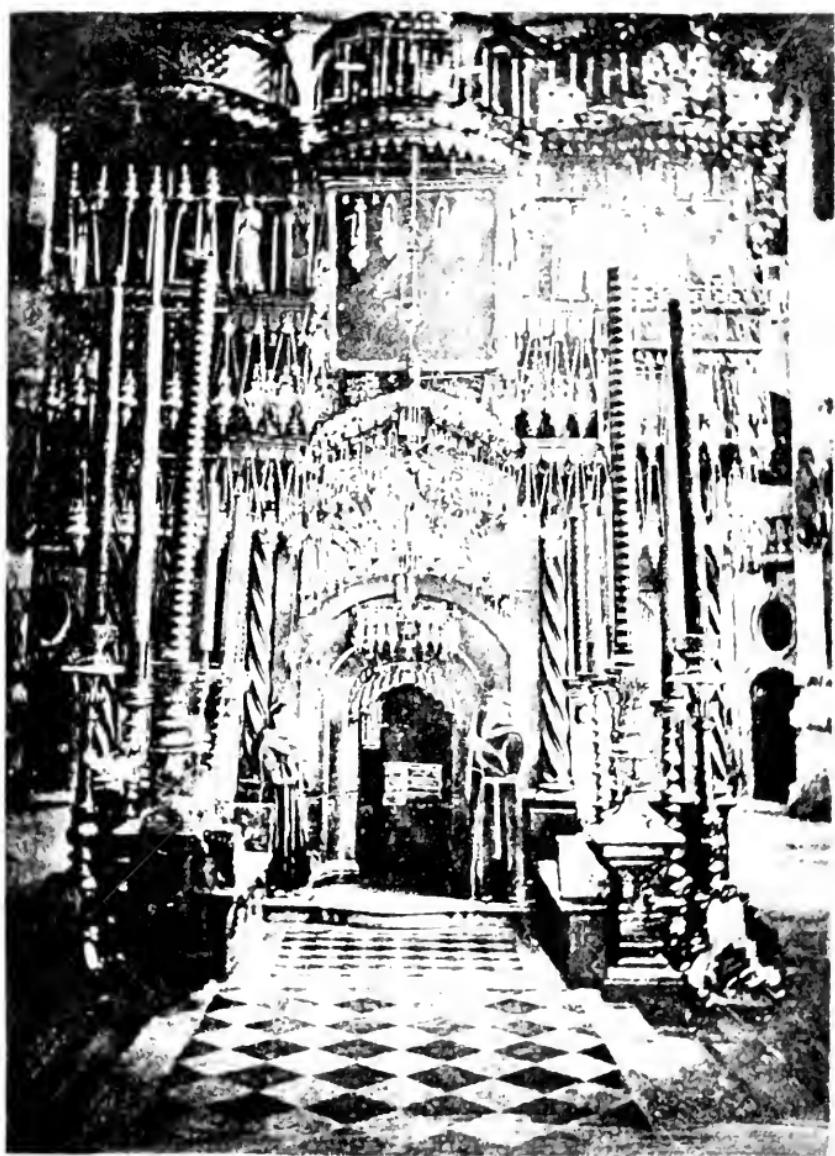
JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Effects of the Great Revolutions in the World, from the fourth to the eighth Century—Restoration of the Persian Kingdom and Magian Religion—Jews of Mesopotamia—Babylonian Talmud—Establishment of Christianity—Attempts at Conversion—Constantine—Julian—Rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem—Theodosius and St. Ambrose—Conflicts between Jews and Christians—Conversions in Minorca and Crete—Tumults in Alexandria—Fall of the Patriarchate.

THE middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into their two communities, under their Papaey and their Caliphate; the great events which succeeded during the five following centuries, to the end of the seventh, or the middle of the eighth, which operated so powerfully on the destinies of the whole world, in the East as well as in the West, could not but exercise an important influence over the condition, and, in some respects, the national character of the Jews. Our history will assume, perhaps, its most intelligible form, if we depart in some degree from a dry chronological narrative, and survey it in relation to the more important of these revolutions in the history of mankind. 1st. The restoration of the Magian religion in the East, under the great Persian monarchy, which arose on the ruins of the Parthian empire. 2dly. The establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire. 3dly. The invasion of the Barbarians. 4thly. The rise and progress of Mahometanism.

I. The first of these points we have in some degree anticipated. The Prince of the Captivity probably rose to power in the interval between the abandonment of the Mesopotamian provinces by Hadrian, about 118, A. C., and the final desolation

of the Parthian kingdom, about 229; when that empire, enfeebled by the conquests of Trajan, and by the assumption of independence in the Persian province, held, but with a feeble hand, the sovereignty over its frontier districts. But his more splendid state seems to have been assumed after the accession of the Persian dynasty. The reappearance of the Magian religion, as the dominant faith of the East, after having lain hid, as it were, for centuries among the mountains of Iran, is an event so singular, that it has scarcely received the notice which it deserves in history. It arrested at once the progress of Christianity in the East, which was thrown back upon the western provinces of Asia, and upon Europe, not without having received a strong though partial tinge from its approximation to that remarkable faith. The great heresiarch Manes attempted to blend the two systems of belief—an attempt the less difficult, as many among the more successful of the early heretics had already admitted into their creed the rudiments of oriental philosophy, which formed the groundwork of Magianism: but Manes met the fate of most conciliators; he was rejected, and probably both himself and his proselytes violently persecuted by both parties. In what manner the sovereigns of Persia and their triumphant priesthood conducted themselves at first towards their Jewish subjects in Babylonia, we have little certain intelligence. Some stories, which bear the stamp of authenticity, appear to intimate persecution. The usage of the Jews in *burying* the dead was offensive to the Magians; and there were certain days in which no light was permitted to be burning, excepting in the Fire Temples. The Jews were unwillingly constrained to pay this homage to the Guebre ceremonial. It is said that a fire-worshipper came into a room in Pumbeditha, where Abba Bar Houa lay ill, and took away the light. R. Jehuda cried out, "Oh, merciful



Father! take us under thy protection, or lead us rather into the hands of the children of Esau" (the Romans).

But on the whole, their condition must have been favourable; as the pomp of their prince, the wealth of his subjects, and the flourishing condition of the Mesopotamian schools, are strong testimonies to the equitable and tolerant government of their Persian rulers. The oriental cast which many of their opinions had assumed as early as the Babylonian captivity, and the prevalence of the cabalistic philosophy, which, in its wild genealogy of many distinct aeons or intelligences, emanating from the pure and uncreated light, bore a close analogy to the Dualism of the Magians; and its subordinate hierarchy of immaterial and spiritual beings, angels, or genii, would harmonize more easily with, or at least be less abhorrent from, the prevailing tenets of the Magians, than the more inflexible Christianity, which rejected the innovations of Manes.

The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, as it shows the industry of its compilers, seems to indicate likewise the profound peace enjoyed by the Jewish master of the schools. This great work was commenced and finished under the superintendence of Rabbi Asche. This celebrated head of the schools introduced a new mode of teaching; his scholars met twice in the year, and received each time two portions of the Law and of the Mischna, the whole circle of Jewish study, which had been divided into sixty parts. Their comments on their appointed task were brought back on the next day of meeting; the best were selected and harmonized, and from these in thirty years grew the Gemara, which, with the Mischna, forms the Babylonian Talmud, that extraordinary monument of human industry, human wisdom, and human folly. The reader at each successive extract from this extraordinary compilation hesitates whether to admire the

vein of profound allegorical truth, and the pleasing moral apologue, to smile at the monstrous extravagance, or to shudder at the daring blasphemy. The influence of the Talmud on European superstitions, opinions, and even literature, remains to be traced; to the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the national mind patiently laboured for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line, beyond which it might not venture to pass.

II. The Western Jews must have beheld with deeper dismay, and more profound astonishment at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the rival religion of Christianity; that apostacy, as they esteemed it, from the worship of Jehovah, gradually extending over the whole of Europe, till at length, under Constantine, it ascended the imperial throne, and became the established religion of the Roman world. The period between the death of the Patriarch R. Jehuda the Holy, and the accession of Constantine to the empire, had been barren of important incidents in Jewish history. The Patriarchate of Tiberias seems gradually to have sunk in estimation: this small and spiritual court fell like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway, and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the pontiff, and of the spiritual aristocracy, the Rabbins, became more and more burthensome to the people.* The people were impatient even of the customary taxation. Gamaliel succeeded Jehuda, Jehuda the Second, Gamaliel. This pontiff was of an imperious character; he surrounded himself with a sort of body-guard: at the same time he was outshone

* At a period considerably later, the Apostles of the Patriarch are called in a law of Honorius *devastators*. It is asserted in the life of Chrysostom, that the heads of the synagogues were displaced if they did not send in enough money.

by his competitors in learning, Simon Ben Laches and R. Jochanan, whose acknowledged superiority tended still farther to invalidate the supremacy of the Patriarch.

A temporary splendour was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine neither derived much advantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in the fall of that extraordinary woman. Her favourite, Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some views of attempting a union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties rejected the unnatural alliance. The Jews spoke contemptuously of the wise men who came from Tadmor, and Paul of Samosata was rejected by the orthodox Church as an intractable heretic. On the formal establishment of Christianity, the more zealous Jews might tremble, lest the synagogue should be dazzled by the splendour of its triumphant competitor, and recognising the manifest favour of the Divinity in its success, refuse any longer to adhere to an humiliated and hopeless cause; while the Christians, after having gained this acknowledged victory over Paganism, might not unreasonably expect that Judaism, less strongly opposed to its principles would relax its obstinate resistance, and yield at length to the universally acknowledged dominion of the new faith.

But the Rabbinical authority had raised an insurmountable barrier around the synagogue. Masters of the education, exercising, as we have shown, an unceasing and vigilant watchfulness, and mingling in every transaction during the whole life of each individual;—still treating their present humiliation merely as a preparatory trial from the ever-faithful God of their fathers, and feeding their flock with hopes of a future deliverance, when they should trample under foot the enemy and oppressor;—empress-mother, Helena, between the Jews and

enlisting every passion and every prejudice in their cause ;—occupying the studious and inquisitive in the interminable study of their Mischna and Talmuds ;—alarming the vulgar with the terrors of their interdict ; while they still promised temporal grandeur as the inalienable, though perhaps late inheritance of the people of Israel ; consoling them for its tardy approach by the promise of the equally inalienable and equally exclusive privilege of the children of Israel—everlasting life in the world to come ;—these spiritual leaders of the Jews still repelled with no great loss, the aggressions of their opponents. At the same time, unhappily, the Church had lost, in great degree, its most effective means of conversion—its miraculous powers, the simple truth of its doctrines, and the blameless lives of its believers. It substituted authority, and a regular system of wonder-working, which the Jews, who had been less affected than might have been supposed by the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles, had no difficulty in rejecting, either as manifest impostures, or works of malignant and hostile spirits. In fact, the Rabbins were equal adepts in these pious frauds with the Christian clergy ; and their people, no less superstitious, listened with the same avidity, or gazed with the same credulity, on the supernatural wonders wrought by their own Wise Men, which obscured, at all events neutralized, the effect of the miracles ascribed to the Christian saints. Magical arts were weapons handled, as all acknowledged, with equal skill by both parties ; the invisible world was a province where, though each claimed the advantage in the contest, neither thought of denying the power of their adversary. A scene characteristic of the times is reported to have taken place in Rome ; the legend, it will easily be credited, rests on Christian authority. A conference took place in the presence of Constantine and the devout Christians. Pope Sylvester then at the height

of his wonder-working glory, had already triumphed in argument over his infatuated opponents, when the Jews had recourse to magic. A noted enchanter commanded an ox to be brought forward; he whispered into the ear of the animal, which instantly fell dead at the feet of Constantine. The Jews shouted in triumph, for it was the Ham-sem-phorash, the ineffable name of God, at the sound of which the awe-struck beast had expired. Sylvester observed with some shrewdness, "as he who whispered the name must be well acquainted with it, why does he not fall dead in like manner?" The Jews answered with contemptuous acclamations—"Let us have no more verbal disputation, let us come to actions." "So be it," said Sylvester; "and if this ox comes to life at the name of Christ, will ye believe?" They all unanimously assented. Sylvester raised his eyes to heaven, and said with a loud voice—"If he be the true God whom I preach, in the name of Christ, arise, oh ox, and stand on thy feet." The ox sprang up, and began to move and feed. The legend proceeds, that the whole assembly was baptized. The Christians, by their own account, carried on the contest in a less favourable field than the city of Rome, and urged their conquests into the heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem, that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph declared that it was the new Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace, or profaning the soil, of the Christian city, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied—Dio Cæsarea (Sepphoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City. **so**

it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the dwellings of the circumcised. This was brought about by a singular adventure. Hillel had succeeded his father, Judah the Second, in the Patriarchate. If we are to believe Epiphanius, the Patriarch himself had embraced Christianity, and had been secretly baptized on his death-bed by a bishop. Joseph, his physician, had witnessed the scene, which wrought strongly upon his mind. The house of Hillel, after his death, was kept closely shut up by his suspicious countrymen; Joseph obtained entrance, and found there the Gospel of John, the Gospel of Matthew, and the Acts, in a Hebrew translation. He read and believed. When the young Patriarch, another Judah (the Third), grew up, Joseph was appointed an Apostle, or collector of the Patriarchal revenue. It seems that Christian meekness had not been imbibed with Christian faith, for he discharged his function with unpopular severity. He was detected reading the Gospel, hurried to the synagogue, and scourged. The bishop of the town (in Cilicia) interfered. But he was afterward seized again, and thrown into the Cydnus, from which he hardly escaped with his life. This was not the wisest means of recovering a renegade; Joseph was publicly baptized, rose high in the favour of Constantine, and attained the dignity of Count of the Empire. Burning with zeal—it is to be hoped not with revenge—he turned all his thoughts to the establishment of Christian churches in the great Jewish cities. He succeeded under the protection of the government, and with the aid of a miracle. As he commenced an edifice on the site of a heathen temple in Tiberias, the Jews enchanted the lime which was to be used for mortar—it would not burn. But Joseph having sanctified some water with the sign of the cross, the spell was dissolved, and the building arose to the discomfiture and dismay of his opponents.

The laws of Constantine, with regard to the Jews, throw more real light on their character and condition.* The first of these statutes appears to authenticate the early part of the history of Joseph, and was no doubt framed in allusion to his case. It enacted, that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life of a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own synagogue; nor had they any right to complain, if proselytes to the established faith should be protected from their violence under the severest penalties. Another more intolerant statute prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment; and, six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting Jews from possessing Christian slaves. The reason assigned for this law was, that it was unjust that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ, should be slaves to the murderers of the Prophets and of the Son of God. There was another civil law, of great importance, affecting the Jews; they were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, particularly the decurionate, from which the facility with which the emperor and his predecessors had granted exemptions, had become burdensome. The law however shows that the right of the Jews to Roman citizenship was fully recognised. The Patriarchs and the Rabbins had the same exemption from all civil and military offices as the Christian clergy. In the markets the Jews had their own officers to regulate the price of things sold among themselves, and were not subject to the ordinary discursor or moderator.

But still earlier than these statutes of Constan-

* Constantine in a public document declared, that it was not for the dignity of the Church to follow that most hateful of all people, the Jews, in the celebration of the Passover.

tine, Spain, the fruitful mother and nurse of religious persecution, had given the signal for hostility towards the Jews, in a decree passed at the Council of Elvira (Illiberis), which is curious, as proving that the Jews were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil in that country. It was a custom for the Jewish and Christian farmers and peasants to mingle together at the festive entertainments given at the harvest home or other periods of rural rejoicing. The Jews were wont in devout humility to utter their accustomed grace before the feast, that the Almighty would, even in the land of the stranger, permit his rains, and dews, and sunshine, to fertilize the harvest. The Christians appear to have been offended at this, apparently very innocent, supplication. The decree of the council proscribed the meeting of the two races at these festivals, and prohibited the blessing of the Jew, lest, perhaps, he might render unavailing the otherwise powerful benedictions of the Church.

It is said that the Jews in the East revenged themselves for these oppressive laws against their brethren, by exciting a furious persecution against the Christians, in which the Jews and Magians vied with each other in violence.

The increased severity of the laws enacted by Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, indicates the still darkening spirit of hostility; but the Jews, unhappily, gave ample provocation to the authorities. The hot-headed Israelites of Alexandria mingled themselves in the factions of Arians and Athanasians, which distracted that restless city. They joined with the Pagans, on the side of the Arian bishop, and committed frightful excesses, burning churches, profaning them with outrages which Athanasius shrinks from relating, and violating consecrated virgins. An insurrection in Judea, which terminated in the destruction of Dio Cæsarea, gave another pretext for exactation and

oppression. The Jews were heavily burthened and taxed; forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women; and the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to the Holy City, was formally renewed. These laws likewise throw light on their condition; their heavy burthens may indicate that they possessed considerable wealth; the possession of Christian slaves leads to the same conclusion; and the necessity of the enactment against marrying Christian women shows that, in some ranks at least, the animosity between the two races had considerably worn away. But the prohibition against entering Jerusalem was still further imbibited by the distant view of the splendour which the new city had assumed. Christian pilgrims crowded the ways which led to the Holy City; where the wood of the true cross—the discovery of which, by a singular chance, is ascribed to a Jew—began to disseminate its inexhaustible splinters through the Christian world. The church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the empress Helena, rose in lofty state, and crowned the hill of Calvary, on which their ancestors had crucified Jesus of Nazareth; while the hill of Moriah lay desecrated and desolate, as it had been left by the plough of the insulting conqueror.

If then the Jews beheld with jealous alarm the rival religion seated on the imperial throne, and the votaries of Jesus clothed in the royal purple—if they felt their condition gradually becoming worse under the statutes of the new emperors—if they dreaded still further aggressions on their prosperity, they must have looked with no secret triumph to the accession of Julian, the Apostate from Christianity. Before long their elation was still further excited by a letter written from the emperor, addressed to “his brother,” the Patriarch, and the commonalty of the Jews. Julian seemed to recog-

nise the unity of God in terms which might satisfy the most zealous follower of Moses. He proceeded to denounce their oppressors, condescended to excuse his brother, annulled the unequal taxes with which they were loaded, and expressed his earnest hope that on his return from the Persian war, the great designs he had formed for their welfare might be fully accomplished. The temporal as well as the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation with the Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to embrace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown great weight into his scale, in his campaign against the Persians and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was important to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably with these views the memorable edict was issued for the rebuilding the Temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration of the Jewish worship in its original splendour. The execution of this project was intrusted, while Julian advanced with his ill-fated army to the East, to the care of his favourite, Alypius.

The whole Jewish world was in commotion : they crowded from the most distant quarters to be present and assist in the great national work. Those who were unable to come envied their more fortunate brethren, and waited in anxious hope for the intelligence that they might again send their offerings or make their pilgrimage to the Temple of the God of Abraham, in his holy place. Their wealth was poured forth in lavish profusion ; and all who were near the spot and could not contribute so amply, offered their personal exertions ; blessed were the hands that toiled in such a work, and unworthy was he of the blood of Israel who would not unlock, at such a call, his most secret hoards. Men cheerfully surrendered the hard-won treasures of their avarice ; women offered up the ornaments of their vanity. The very tools which

were to be employed, were, as it were, sanctified by the service, and were made of the most costly materials; some had shovels, mallets, and baskets of silver; and women were seen carrying rubbish in robes and mantles of silk. Men, blind from the womb, came forward to lend their embarrassing aid, and the aged tottered along the ways, bowed beneath the weight of some burthen which they seemed to acquire new strength to support. The confidence and triumph of the Jews was unbounded; some went so far in their profane adulation as to style Julian the Messiah. The Christians looked on in consternation and amazement. Would the murderers of the Son of God be permitted to rebuild their devoted city, and the Temple arise again from "the abomination of desolation?" Materials had now accumulated from all quarters, some say at the expense of the emperor; but that is not probable, considering the costly war in which he was engaged. Nor were the Jews wanting in ample resources; timber, stones, lime, burnt brick, clay, were heaped together in abundant quantities. Already was the work commenced; already had they dug down to a considerable depth, and were preparing to lay the foundations, when suddenly flames of fire came bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied with terrific explosions. The affrighted workmen fled on all sides; and the labours were suspended at once by this unforeseen and awful sign. Other circumstances are said to have accompanied this event; an earthquake shook the hill; flakes of fire, which took the form of crosses, settled on the dresses of the workmen and spectators; and the fire consumed even the tools of iron. It was even added that a horseman was seen careering among the flames, and that the workmen, having fled to a neighbouring church, its doors, fastened by some preternatural force within, refused to admit them. These, however, may be embell-

lishments, and are found only in later and rhetorical writers; but the main fact of the interruption of the work by some extraordinary, and as it was supposed, supernatural interference, rests on the clear and unsuspicious testimony of the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus. But, in candour, one local circumstance must be mentioned, overlooked by those who impugn, as well as by those who maintain, the miracle—by Gibbon, Basnage, and Lardner—as well as by Warburton. It will be remembered that the hills on which Jerusalem stood were deeply and extensively undermined by subterranean passages. On the surprise of the Temple by John of Gischala, the whole party of Eleazar took refuge in these underground chambers. Numbers of the zealots lay hid in similar caverns under Sion after the capture of the city by Titus, and the sudden rising of Simon on the hill of the Temple, after having descended on that of Sion, sufficiently proves the vast range of these mines, which communicated with each other under both hills over which the city spread. The falling of the hill of Sion, during the rebellion under Barcochab, may also be adduced. In the long period of desolation, during which the hill of the Temple especially lay waste, the outlets of these caverns would be choked with rubbish and ruin; and the air within become foul and inflammable. That these vapours, thus fermenting under the whole depth of the hill, should, as is often the case in mines, become accidentally ignited during the work, kindle and explode with violent combustion and terrific noise, resembling an earthquake, was by no means beyond the ordinary course of nature, though it might be far beyond the philosophy of a people excited to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, and already predisposed to consider the place as the chosen scene of miraculous interference. Even the fiery crosses on the garments might have been phosphoric exha-

tations, really seen, and easily wrought into that form by the awe-struck imagination of the Christians—and preternatural interference would hardly be called for to close the doors of a church against fugitives thus under the visible malediction of the Deity.

Nor, indeed, does the miracle, if we may presume so to speak, appear necessary for its end; for, according to the will of the Divine Ruler of the world a more appalling and insuperable obstacle interrupted the unhallowed work. The discomfiture of the Jews was completed—and the resumption of their labours, could they have recovered from their panic, was for ever broken off by the death of Julian. The emperor seems not to have reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel. The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. On his approach, one of these, Bithra, situated among the branches of the Euphrates, was set on fire by his soldiers, and burned to ashes. The apostate himself fell—the Christian world beheld the vengeance of God—the Jew the extinction of all his hopes—in the early fate of this extraordinary man.

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews—but it was only a passing cloud: Valens and Valentinian reinstated the Jews and their Patriarch in their former rights—yet the state of the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege—exemption from the public services. “Even the clergy,” such is the curious argument of this edict, “are not permitted to consecrate themselves to the service of God, without having previously discharged their duty to their country. He who would devote himself to God, must first find a substitute to undertake his share in the public offices.” The Jews could not complain, if, ad-

mitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.

During the declining days of the Roman empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence and the Jews sometimes became a subject of contention between the Church and the throne. Protected by the emperor as useful and profitable subjects, they were beheld by the more intemperate churchmen with still increasing animosity. Maximus, a usurper, during his short reign, had commanded a synagogue, which had been wantonly burned in Rome, to be rebuilt at the expense of the community. Theodosius the Great renewed a similar edict, on a like occasion, and commanded the bishop of Callinicum, in Osrhoene, to see the work carried into effect. The fiery zeal of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, broke out into a flame of indignation. In a letter to the emperor, he declares his disapprobation of such outrages as burning synagogues: for priests ought to be the quellers of turbulence, and strive to promote peace, unless, he added, moved by injuries against their God, or contumelies against his church. At the same time, he asserts, that no Christian bishop could conscientiously assist in building a temple for the circumcised. “Either the bishop will resist or comply: he must be a sinner or a martyr. Perhaps he may be tempted, by the hopes of martyrdom, falsely to assert his concurrence in the destruction of the synagogue. Noble falsehood!—I, myself, would willingly assume the guilt,—I, I say, have set this synagogue in flames, at least in so far that I have urged on all—that there should be no place left in which Christ is denied.” He designated a synagogue as a dwelling of perfidy—a house of impiety—a receptacle of insanity—and concluded, in a tone of mingled pathetic expostulation and bitter invective, “This shall be the inscription of the edifice—‘A Temple of Ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians.’” Not content with ad-

dressing this letter to the emperor, who was then in Milan, he thundered against him from the pulpit. Theodosius had the weakness to yield to the daring churchman; the edict was recalled; and the Jews remained without a synagogue in that city, which, it may be observed, was divided by half the empire from the diocese of Ambrose. Theodosius, when removed from the influence of Ambrose, and brought by the approach of death to higher notions of Christian justice, issued an edict, which secured perfect toleration to the Jews, and condemned to an arbitrary punishment all who should burn or plunder their synagogues.

In the mean time, the Patriarchate began to display manifest signs of decay. The Jews were seen before heathen tribunals—not only to decide their litigations with Christians, but as a court of appeal against the injustice of their own judicial authorities. Men excommunicated had recourse to Pagan judges, not always inaccessible to bribery, to enforce their reinstatement in the rights of the synagogue. A law of Theodosius was passed, which recognised the power of the Patriarch to punish the refractory members of their own community. This law was confirmed under Arcadius and Honorius; the prefects were forbidden from interfering with the judicial courts of the Jewish primate. It should seem that, in disputes with Christians, both parties were expected to appear before the ordinary tribunals. Another law was passed at this period characteristic of the times. It enacted, that no Jew should be baptized without strict inquiry, and a sort of previous noviciate of good conduct. Some of the more worthless Jews had played upon the eagerness of the Church to obtain proselytes, and had made a regular trade of submitting to baptism in different places—by which they, in general, contrived to obtain handsome remuneration. This was facilitated by the numerous sects which distracted the Church,

who vied with each other in the success of their proselytism, and rendered detection difficult. A miracle came to the assistance of the law in checking this nefarious traffic ; unfortunately, it was wrought in a Novation, not in an orthodox congregation. When one of these unworthy proselytes presented himself, the indignant water flowed away, and refused to rebaptize one who had been so frequently baptized before with so little advantage.

The clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which were darkening over the world, could not but spread a deeper gloom over the sullen national character of the Jews. The manner in which the contest was carried on with the Church was not calculated to enlighten their fanaticism ; nor was it likely that, while the world around them was sinking fast into unsocial ferocity of manners, they should acquire the gentleness and humanity of civilization. No doubt the more intemperate members of the synagogue, when they might do it securely, would revenge themselves by insult or any other means of hostility in their power, against the aggressions of the Church : though probably much would be construed into insult, which was not intended to give offence, it argues no great knowledge of Jewish character, or indeed of human nature, to doubt but that great provocation was given by the turbulent disposition of the Israelites. It is a curious fact, and must have tended greatly to darken the spirit of animosity in the dominant Church against the Jews, that whenever occasion offered, they sided with the Arian faction ; while the Arians were in general more tolerant towards the worshippers of the undivided Unity of God, than the Catholic Church. In the religious factions in Alexandria, we have seen them espousing the part of the Arian bishop against Athanasius ; and of all the sovereigns during this period, none were more friendly to the Jews than the Arian Gothic kings of Italy. It was about the

commencement of the fifth century, that great, and probably not groundless offence, was taken at the public and tumultuous manner in which the Jews celebrated the feast of Purim, and their deliverance under Esther. Not content with beating the benches of the synagogue with stones and mallets, and uttering the most dissonant cries each time the execrated name of Haman was pronounced, they proceeded to make a public exhibition of the manner in which the enemies of their nation might expect to be treated. They erected a gibbet, on which a figure, representing Haman, was suspended, and treated with every kind of indignity. Probably blasphemous expressions against all other Hamans might occasionally break forth. The Christians looked with jealous horror on that, which they construed into a profane, though covert, representation of the crucifixion. Sometimes, indeed, it is said, the gibbet was made in the form of a cross, with the body suspended upon it in like manner to that which was now becoming the universal object of adoration. No wonder if the two parties met in furious collision, and if the peace of the empire demanded the intervention of authority to put an end to these indecent scenes. By a law of Theodosius the Second, these festivals were prohibited. In Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyria, these or similar causes of contention gave rise to violent tumults between the Jews and Christians. The synagogues were burned in many places. Theodosius commanded the prefect, Philip, to execute the law with the strictest impartiality: not to suffer the Jews to insult or show disrespect to the Christian religion, yet by no means to interfere with the free exercise of their own faith. In Syria these animosities led to still worse consequences. At a place called Innestar, between Chalcis and Antioch, some drunken Jews began, in the public streets, to mock and blaspheme the name of Christ. They went so far as to erect a cross,

and fastened a Christian boy to it, whom they scourged so unmercifully that he died. The offenders were justly punished with exemplary rigour; but the feud left a rankling hatred in the hearts of the Christians. Some years after, they rose and plundered a synagogue in Antioch. The Roman governors espoused the cause of the Jews, this time the unoffending victims of wanton animosity; and by an ordinance of the emperor, the clergy were commanded to make restitution. But they found an advocate in the celebrated Simeon Stylites, so called from his passing his life on the top of a slender column sixty feet high. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of this saintly personage, to whom he wrote under the title of the "Holy Martyr in the air"—earnestly soliciting his prayers. The order of restitution was annulled—the just prefect recalled. It is possible, however, that the synagogue in question may have been built in violation of a law of the empire, which prohibited the erecting any new edifices for Jewish worship.

Perhaps unfortunately, as encouraging them to pursue such violent means of conversion, the Christians in the island of Minorca, by means of the conflagration of a synagogue, obtained a signal triumph—the baptism of all the Jews in the island. We have the account of this transaction on the authority of the bishop himself, and it presents a singular picture of the times. The pious Severus was sorely grieved, that in an island, where, though more useful animals abounded, wolves and foxes were not permitted to exist; where, though snakes and scorpions were found, yet, miraculously he would suppose, they were deprived of their venom, the Jews should be so numerous and wealthy in the two largest towns of the island—particularly in Magona, now Mahon. Long had he desired to engage in a holy warfare against this unbelieving race. He was at length encouraged to hope for

victory by the arrival of the reliques of the Martyr Stephen,* which were left in the island by the celebrated Orosius. In a short time the conflict began, and perpetual disputations took place; the Christians headed by their bishop, the Jews by a certain Theodorus, a man of acknowledged eminence in Rabbinical learning, and of such consequence in the place as to have filled the office of defender of the city.

The Christians, if we are to believe the bishop, thought only of spiritual means of attack, persuasion, argument, with whatever miracles the reliques of St. Stephen might vouchsafe to throw into their scale. The Jews had laid up in their synagogue more carnal weapons, stones, clubs, arrows, and other arms. Encouraged by two visions, the bishop set off at the head of all his flock from Immona, and marched in the highest spirits to Magona, where he sent a summons of defiance to Theodorus and the Jews to meet him at the church. The Jews excused themselves, because it was the Sabbath—and they could not enter an unclean place on that day. The bishop immediately offered to meet them on their own ground, the synagogue. They still declined the contest, but surrounded the house in which the bishop was, in great numbers. The bishop mildly expostulated with them for having laid up arms in their synagogue. They denied the fact, and offered to confirm their assertion with an oath. "No need of oaths," replied the bishop, "let us satisfy our own eyes"—and immediately he set forward with his whole troop, singing a verse of the ninth Psalm, "Their memory hath perished *with a loud noise* ;† but the Lord endureth for ever." The Jews gladly

* A Jew plays a conspicuous part in the discovery of these reliques—no less a person than Gamaliel himself, the teacher of St. Paul, who appeared in a vision to Lucian, head of a monastery, at Caphargamala in Palestine. These reliques were of sovereign efficacy in checking the Pelagian heresy.

† These words will not be found in the English translation; they appear in the Vulgate.

joined in the Psalm, applying it no doubt with a very different meaning. A fray began in the streets through some Jewish women throwing stones from the windows. The bishop could not restrain his flock, who rushed furiously in. No blood was shed on either side, except of an Achan in the Christian party, who endeavoured to purloin some valuable effects, and had his head broken by a stone from his own friends; but the Christians became masters of the synagogue, and set it on fire with all its furniture, except the books of the Law, and the articles of silver. There is no mention of arms having been discovered. The books were carried in reverential triumph to the church—the silver restored. The Christians returned, singing Psalms of thanksgiving, to their church. Three days after, the Jews assembled within the melancholy ruins of their religious house—the Christians also crowded in, and Theodorus began an eloquent vindication of the Law—he argued, he confuted all objections—he poured contempt on his opponents, who, by the confession of the bishop, were so utterly discomfited, as to look for help to heaven alone against this obstinate gainsayer. No miracle, however, was vouchsafed, and they owed their triumph to pure accident. They all began to cry with one voice, “Theodorus, believe in Christ!” The Jews mistook the words, and thought it was a shout of triumph, “Theodorus believes in Christ!” They dispersed on all sides. Women tore their hair and cried in bitter desperation, “Oh, Theodorus, what hast thou done!” the men fled away to the woods and rocks. Theodorus, entirely deserted and left alone, had not strength of mind to resist. Reuben, the first of the Jews who had been converted, argued with him, and laid before him the advantages which might attend his becoming a Christian. The Rabbi yielded to these unworthy motives; the example of his defection was followed, and the Jews were generally

baptized. The triumphant bishop strongly recommends to his brethren the laudable example of his own zeal and success, an example which, as far as burning the synagogues, they seem to have been apt enough to adopt; for an express law appears to have been required from Honorius to prohibit these acts of violence.

The conversion of many Jews in Crete reflects more credit on the humanity of the Christians, while it shows the wild and feverish fanaticism which still lay deep within the hearts of the Jews, ready to break forth at the first excitement of those unextinguishable hopes, which were alike their pride, their consolation, and their ruin. Among the numerous and wealthy Jews who inhabited that fertile island, an impostor appeared, who either bore or assumed the name of Moses. He announced himself as the successor of the great Lawgiver, and for a whole year travelled about the island, persuading his credulous countrymen to abandon their possessions and their farms to follow his guidance. They listened; they relaxed their usual industry, and neglected their labours, under the fond hope of speedily obtaining possession of a more fertile land, that of milk and honey. The appointed time came, and at the call of Moses they crowded forth by thousands; for he had proclaimed, that like the Red Sea of old, the deep Mediterranean, would be turned to dry land before them. At the dawn of day they followed him blindly to the top of a lofty promontory, from whence he commanded them to throw themselves down—the foremost obeyed, they were dashed to pieces against the rocks, or sank into the unobedient waves. Many perished, more would have shared their fate, but for some fishing-craft and merchant vessels belonging to the Christians, who showed the utmost activity in saving the lives of their deluded countrymen; and by holding up the bodies of the drowned, pre-

vented the rest from following their fatal example. The Jews, at length disabused, turned to revenge themselves on their leader—but he had disappeared; no doubt he had secured a place of retreat, probably with some of the fruits of his imposture. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, cannot disguise his suspicion, that he was a devil who assumed a human form for the destruction of those unhappy people. But many of the Jews, heartily ashamed of their own credulity, and struck with the brotherly kindness of the Christians, adopted the faith of love and charity.

We must revert to Alexandria, ever the most fatal scene of Jewish turbulence and Jewish calamity. Yet no calamity could induce this gain-loving people to abandon that great emporium of commerce. Rarely have we directed our attention to the city of Alexandria, but we have seen its streets flowing with the blood of thousands of Jews; at our next view we always find them re-established in immense numbers, and in inexhaustible opulence. To the old feuds between Greeks and Jews in this city, noted at all times for its fierce and mutinous spirit, had succeeded those of the different sects of Christians, and of the Christians, Pagans, and Jews. Even holy bishops were not superior to the violence which the fiery climate seemed to infuse into the veins of these “children of the Sun;” the records of the Alexandrian Church present, perhaps, the most unchristian page in Christian History. At this period the city was rent into factions on a subject all-important in those days,—the merits of the dancers in the public exhibitions. These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their synagogue. Violent collisions of the different factions perpetually took place, which rarely terminated without bloodshed. Orestes,

prefect of Alexandria, determined to repress these sanguinary tumults, and ordered his police regulations to be suspended in the theatre.* Certain partisans of Cyril the archbishop entered the theatre with the innocent design, according to Socrates, on whose partial authority the whole affair rests, of reading these ordinances; among the rest, one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an adherent of the archbishop, whom he was wont frequently to applaud by clapping his hands (the usual custom in the Church) whenever he preached. From what cause does not appear, but the Jews considered themselves insulted by his presence, and raised an outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous of the archbishop, who had usurped on the civil authority, ordered Hierax to be seized and scourged. Cyril sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance if they did not cause all tumults against the Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate their adversaries—having put on rings of palm bark that they might distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry of fire about the great church, called that of Alexander. The Christians rose, and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell on them and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The militant archbishop instantly took arms, attacked with a formidable force the synagogues of the Jews, slew many, drove the rest out of the city, and plundered their property.

The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of the thriving and industrious Jews from the city, seems to warrant a suspicion that the latter were not so

* Perhaps these regulations might appoint different days for the different classes of the people to attend the theatre—this supposition would make the story more clear.

entirely without provocation. Both, however, sent representations to the emperor; but, probably before he could interfere, the feud between the implacable prefect and the archbishop grew to a greater height. Cyril, it is said, on one occasion advanced to meet his adversary with the Gospel in his hand as a sign of peace; but Orestes, suspecting probably that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused this offer of conciliation. There were certain monks who lived in the mountains of Nitria. These fiery champions of the Church seized their arms, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the Patriarch. Emboldened by their presence, Cyril openly insulted Orestes—called him heathen, idolater, and many other opprobrious names. In vain the prefect protested that he had been baptized by Atticus, a bishop in Constantinople. A man, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone at his head: the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants dispersed on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the inhabitants. The Alexandrian populace rose in defence of their prefect; the monks were driven from the city, Ammonius tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up, paid him all the honours of a martyr, and declared that he had fallen a victim to his righteous zeal in defence of the Church. Even Socrates seems to shrink from relating this unchristian conduct of the Patriarch. Cyril himself was ashamed, and glad to bury the transaction in oblivion. Before long, however, his adherents perpetrated a more inhuman deed even than the plunder and expulsion of the Jews: it must be related to show the ferocious character of their antagonists. There was a woman, named Hypatia, of great learning, and deeply versed in the Platonic philosophy. She lived in great intimacy with Orestes, and was suspected of encouraging him in his hostility to the Patriarch. This woman

they seized, dragged her from her chariot, and, with the most revolting indecency, tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb. By another account, Cyril himself is accused as having instigated, from jealousy of the fair Platonist's numerous hearers, this horrible act. It is grievous to add, that, through bribes and interest at the imperial court, the affair remained unpunished; nor do we hear that the Jews obtained either redress or restoration to their homes and property.

We gladly avert our eyes to catch a few occasional gleams of better feeling among the Christian hierarchy towards the subjects of our history. It is related, that such was the spirit of love produced by the example of the good Hilary, in his diocese of Poitiers, in Gaul, that at his funeral the Israelites were heard chanting in Hebrew their mournful Psalms of lamentation for the Christian bishop. Many traits of friendly feeling, and of amicable correspondence with respectable Jews, occur in the elegant works of Sidonius Apollinaris.

In the mean time, the Jewish Patriarchate, after having exercised its authority for nearly three centuries, expired in the person of Gamaliel. Its fall had been prognosticated by many visible signs of decay and dissolution. The Jews, ever more and more dispersed, became probably a less influential part of the population in Palestine, at least they bore a less proportion to the scattered part of the people; the bonds of authority over the more remote communities gradually relaxed. A law of Honorius gave a signal blow to its opulence: it prohibited the exportation of the annual tribute from Rome, probably from the Western empire. Five years after, it is true, this law was repealed, and the Patriarch resumed his rights; but the Jews were deprived, by another statute, of the agency—an office, now apparently become lucrative, which their active habits of trade enabled them to fill with great advantage to

themselves. At length, a law of Theodosius, which has been differently understood, either stripped the Patriarch of the honorary title of Prefect, which had been assigned to him by former emperors, and thus virtually destroyed his authority, or as some—inaccurately we conceive—suppose, expressly abolished the office. The crime imputed to the Patriarch was his erecting new synagogues, in defiance of the imperial laws. At all events, Gamaliel—even if after this statute he maintained the empty name of Patriarch—at his death had no successor, and this spiritual monarchy of the West was for ever dissolved. It may be said that the dominion passed into the hands of the Rabbinical aristocracy. The Jerusalem Talmud had already been compiled, as a new code: it embodied and preserved the learning of the schools in Palestine, which before the fall of the Patriarchate had almost come to an end. But the later compilation, the Talmud of Babylon, eclipsed the more obscure and less perfect work of the Palestinian Jews, and became the law and the religion of the whole race of Israel.

BOOK XXI.

THE JEWS UNDER THE BARBARIAN KINGS AND THE
BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

Irruption and Conquests of the Barbarians—Trade of the Jews—Slave Trade—Decrees of Councils—Of Pope Gregory the First—Conduct of the Christians to the Jews—Arian Kings of Italy—Pope Gregory the First—State anterior to the Rise of Mahometanism in the Eastern Empire—Insurrections of the Samaritans—Laws of Justinian—Dispute about the Language in which the Law was to be read—State of the Jews in the Persian Dominions—Persecutions—Civil Contests—Conquest of Syria and Jerusalem by the Persians—Reconquest by the Emperor Heraclius.

THE irruption of the northern Barbarians during the latter half of the fourth to about the end of the fifth century, so completely disorganized the whole frame of society, that the condition of its humblest members could not but be powerfully influenced by the total revolution in the government, in the possession of the soil, and in the social character of all those countries which were exposed to their inroads. The Jews were widely dispersed in all the provinces on which the storm fell—in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine—in such parts of Germany as were civilized—in Gaul, Italy, and Spain. Of their original progress into these countries, history takes no notice; for they did not migrate in swarms, or settle in large bodies, but sometimes as slaves following the fortunes of their masters, sometimes as single enterprising traders, they travelled on and advanced as convenience or profit tempted, till they reached the verge of civilization. On them the successive inroads and conquests of the Barbarians fell much more lightly than on the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the

different provinces, rarely encumbered with landed property, or with immoveable effects, sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat, before the cloud burst, to the more secure and peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. Through burning towns and ravaged fields he travelled, regardless of the surrounding misery which enveloped those with whom he had no ties of attachment;—if splendid cities became a prey to the flames, or magnificent churches lay in ashes, his meaner dwelling was abandoned without much regret, and with no serious loss; and even his synagogue might perish in the common ruin, without either deeply wounding the religious feelings of the worshippers, who had no peculiar local attachment to the spot, or inflicting any very grievous loss on a community who could re-establish, at no great expense, their humble edifice. If, indeed, individuals experienced considerable losses, their whole trading community had great opportunities of reimbursement, which they were not likely to overlook or neglect in the wild confusion of property which attended the conquests of the invaders. Where battles were fought, and immense plunder fell into the hands of the wandering Barbarians, the Jews were still at hand to traffic the worthless and glittering baubles with which ignorant savages are delighted, or the more useful, but comparatively cheap instruments and weapons of iron and brass, for the more valuable commodities, of which they knew not the price or the use. These, by the rapid and secret correspondence which no doubt the Israelites had already established with their brethren in every quarter of the world, were

transported into more peaceful and unplundered regions, which still afforded a market for the luxuries and ornaments of life. As to the particulars of this commerce, we have no certain information, as, in truth, the fact rests rather on inference than on positive data; but if it existed to the extent we believe, it must have been highly lucrative, when the vendors were ignorant Barbarians, and the purchasers intelligent, and, probably, not over-scrupulous traders, well acquainted with the price which every article would bear in the different markets of the civilized world. Nor is it improbable, that by keeping alive the spirit of commerce, which might otherwise have become utterly extinct amid the general insecurity, the interruption of the usual means of communication, and the occupation of the roads by wild marauders, they conferred a great advantage on society, by promoting the civilization of these wild and warlike hordes. But we have ample evidence that one great branch of commerce fell almost entirely into the hands of the Jews, the internal slave trade of Europe. It is impossible to suppose, but that this strange state of things must have inspired a sort of revengeful satisfaction into the mind of the zealous Israelite. While his former masters, or at least his rulers, the Christians, were wailing over their desolate fields, their ruined churches, their pillaged monasteries, their violated convents, he was growing rich amid the general ruin; and, perhaps, either purchasing for his own domestic service, at the cheapest price, the fairest youths, and even high-born maidens, or driving his gangs of slaves to the different markets, where they still bore a price. The Church beheld this evil with avowed grief and indignation. In vain Popes issued their rescripts, and Councils uttered their interdicts; the necessity for the perpetual renewal both of the admonitions of the former, and the laws of the latter, show that they had not the power to repress a prac-

tice which they abhorred. The language of their edicts was at first just and moderate. The Christians had probably the wisdom to perceive, that however apparently disgraceful to their cause, and productive of much misery, it had also its advantages, in mitigating the horrors and atrocities of the war. Servitude was an evil, particularly when the Christian was enslaved to an infidel or a Jew, but it was the only alternative to avoid massacre. Conquering savages will only respect human life, where it is of value, as a disposable article—they will make captives only where captives are useful and saleable. In the interior of Africa, it may be questionable how far the slave trade increases or allays the barbarity of warlike tribes. No doubt many marauding expeditions are undertaken, and even wars between different tribes and nations entered into, with no other motive or object of plunder except the miserable beings which supply the slave marts; but where the war arises from other causes, it would probably terminate in the relentless extermination of the conquered party, if they were not spared, some may say, and with justice, for the more pitiable fate of being carried across the desert as a marketable commodity. But with the northern tribes, the capture of slaves was never the primary object of their invasions; they moved onward either in search of new settlements, or propelled by the vast mass of increasing population among the tribes beyond them; at this period, therefore, this odious commerce must have greatly tended to mitigate the horrors of war, which the state of society rendered inevitable.

From the earliest period after Christianity assumed the reins of the empire, the possession of Christian slaves by the circumcised had offended the dominant party. Constantine issued a severe law, which prohibited the Jews, under pain of confiscation of property, from having a Christian slave

—but this law was either never executed, or fell into disuse. A law of Honorius only prohibited the conversion of Christian slaves to Judaism, not interfering with, or rather fully recognising, their right of property in their bondsmen. After the evil had grown, through the incessant Barbaric wars, to a much greater magnitude, the Council of Orleans (A. C. 540) took the lead, but with great fairness and moderation, in the laudable attempt to alleviate its baneful effects on the religious as well as the temporal state of the slave. That assembly enacted, “That if a slave was commanded to perform any service, incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church: the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his full value to the master.” The fourth council of the same place (A. C. 541) goes further, “If a slave under such circumstances should claim the protection of any Christian, he is bound to afford it, and to redeem the slave at a fair price.” Further, “Any Jew who makes a proselyte to Judaism, or takes a Christian slave to himself, (probably as wife or concubine,) or by the promise of freedom bribes one born a Christian to forswear his faith, and embrace Judaism, loses his property in the slave. The Christian who has accepted his freedom on such terms, shall not presume to fulfil the condition, for a born Christian who embraces Judaism, is unworthy of liberty.” The first Council of Mâcon (A. C. 582) enacts, “That according to the laws both ecclesiastical and civil, the conditions by which a Christian either as a captive in war, or by purchase, has become slave to a Jew, must be respected. But since complaints have arisen that Jews living in the great and small towns have been so shameless as to refuse a fair price for the redemption of such bondsmen, no Christian can be compelled to remain in slavery; but every Christian has a right

to redeem Christian slaves at the price of twelve solidi (to such a price had human life fallen), either to restore them to freedom, or to retain them as his own slaves; for it were unjust that those whom our Saviour has redeemed by his blood, should groan in the fetters of his persecutors.” These laws produced little effect; for in the first place they calculated far beyond the character of the age, on the predominance of Christian charity over the love of lucre, both in the clergy and the laity. Besides, the whole administration of law had fallen into the worst disorder. Every province or district had its separate jurisdiction; no uniformity of system could prevail; and where the commonalty, many of the administrators of the law, and even the clergy, could neither write nor read, the written rescripts of councils were often but a dead letter. The fourth Council of Toledo (A. C. 633) recognised the practice of Jewish slave-dealing as in full force. The tenth at the same place (A. C. 655) complains that “even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and heathens.” At the close of the sixth century one of the wisest and most humane pontiffs filled the Papal chair, Gregory the First. The Pope in his pastoral letters alternately denounces, bewails, and by authoritative rebuke and appeal to the better feelings, endeavours to suppress this “cruel and impious” traffic, which still existed in Italy, Sicily, and the south of France. He writes to Fortunatus, “that he has received an account that a Jewish miscreant has built an altar, and forced or bribed his Christian slaves to worship upon it.” The prefect was directed to inflict corporal chastisement on the offender, and to cause all the slaves to receive their freedom. The next year he writes to Venantius, bishop of Luni, in Tuscany, rebuking him for permitting Christian slaves to come into the power of Jewish masters, contrary to his duty. Those who had been long in the possession of such

masters, were to be considered as villains attached to the soil (the Jews, it should seem, were considerable landed proprietors or cultivators of the land in Italy). But if the Jew resisted, or abused his seigniorial right to transplant the slave from the soil to which he belonged, he was to lose his lease of land, as well as his right over the slave. Gregory distinguishes between the possession and the trade in slaves. No Jew or heathen who was desirous of becoming a Christian was to be retained in slavery. Lest the Jew should complain that he is robbed of his property, this rule is to be observed; —if heathen slaves, bought as an article of trade, within three months after the sale, and before they find another purchaser, wish to embrace Christianity, the Jew shall receive the full price from a Christian slave-purchaser: if after that time,—he shall immediately obtain his freedom, as it is evident that the Jew keeps him, not for sale, but for service. This was, as it were, within the dominions of the Papacy; at least, almost bordering on his own particular diocese. In the Gallic provinces, as probably his power was less implicitly acknowledged, so his tone is less peremptory. The slaves in such cases were to be repurchased out of the goods of the Church. Gregory writes to Candidus, a presbyter in Gaul—“Dominic, the bearer of this letter, has with tears made known to us, that his four brothers have been bought by the Jews, and are at present their slaves at Narbonne. We direct you to make inquiry into the transaction, and, if it be true, to redeem them at a proper price, which you will charge in your accounts, *i. e.* deduct from the annual payment made to Rome.” Three years earlier he writes to Januarius, bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, rebuking him, because certain slaves, belonging to Jews, who had taken refuge in a church, had been given up to the unbelievers. He here declares, “that every slave so seeking baptism, be

comes free, and the treasures of the poor (*i. e.* the goods of the Church) are not to suffer loss for their redemption."

There is a very curious letter to Fortunatus, bishop of Neapel, approving his ardent zeal in favour of Christian slaves bought by the Jews in the Gallic provinces. The Pontiff had intended entirely to interdict the trade. But a certain Jew, Basilius, with several others, had waited upon him, and stated that this traffic was recognised by the judicial authorities, and that it was only by accident that Christian slaves were bought among the heathen. In a solemn tone, the Pontiff thus writes to Thierri and Theodebert, kings of the Franks, and to queen Brunehaut. "We are in amazement, that in your kingdom Jews are permitted to possess Christian slaves. For what are Christians but members of Christ's body, who, as ye know—as we all know, is their head? Is it not most inconsistent to honour the Head, and to allow the members to be trampled on by his enemies? We entreat your majesties to expel this baneful traffic from your dominions—so will ye show yourselves true worshippers of Almighty God, by delivering his faithful from the hands of their adversaries." Another letter of Gregory to Leo, bishop of Catania in Sicily, establishes the curious fact, that the Samaritans were likewise widely dispersed, and shared this traffic with the Jews. "A circumstance both revolting and contrary to the law, hath been made known to us—a circumstance, if true, worthy of the strongest reprobation and the heaviest punishment. We understand that certain Samaritans resident at Catania, buy heathen slaves, whom they are so daring as to circumcise. You must investigate this affair with impartial zeal, take such slaves under the protection of the Church, and not suffer these men to receive any repayment. Besides this loss, they must be punished to the utmost extremity of the law." Ac-

cording to the Roman law, which still prevailed in Sicily, the penalty of circumcising slaves was death and confiscation of property. In all other respects this wise and virtuous Pontiff religiously maintained that tolerance towards the Jews, which they enjoyed, with few exceptions, during this period of confusion; and even for some period after the conversion of the Barbarian monarchs to Christianity. For all this time the Church was either sadly occupied in mourning over the ravages which enveloped the clergy and the people in common ruin, or more nobly in imparting to the fierce conquerors the humanizing and civilizing knowledge of Christianity. It had not the power,—we trust, in these times of adversity, that best school of Christian virtue, not the will—to persecute. There is a remarkable picture of the state of the Jews in Africa, in a tract printed among the works of St. Augustine, called the “Altercation between the Synagogue and the Church.” The date of this record is uncertain; but it seems earlier, rather than later, as Basnage supposes, than the Vandal conquest of that region. The synagogue maintains that “it is neither the slave nor the servant of the Church, since her sons are free; and instead of being constrained to wear fetters and other marks of servitude, have full liberty of navigation and of commerce.” This seems to indicate considerable extent of trade. On the other hand, the Church rejoins that the synagogue is obliged to pay tribute to the Christian; that a Jew cannot pretend to the empire, or to become a count (*comes*) or governor of a province; that he cannot enter into the senate or the army; that he is not even received at the tables of men of rank; and that if he is allowed the means of obtaining a livelihood, it is only to prevent his perishing of hunger. Theodoric, the Arian Gothic king of Italy, it has already been observed, openly protected the Jews. His secretary, Cassiodorus, prompted and encouraged

this enlightened policy. The king lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion, that the Israelites showed an excessive zeal for the goods and for the peace of this world, while they lost all thought of immortality; but he discountenanced and repressed all insult and violence. He reproved the senate of Rome, because on account of some private quarrel the synagogue had been burned. He strongly rebuked the clergy of Milan, who had endeavoured to make themselves masters of a synagogue and all its property. He repressed the people of Genoa, who had abrogated all the privileges of the Jews, long resident among them, had risen, pillaged, and unroofed the synagogue. The king directed that the Israelites should be reinstated in their privileges, and permitted to rebuild their synagogue, provided that it was a plain building, and covered no larger space of ground than their former one. This was at the end of the fifth century. It was about the end of the sixth that the Pope himself assumed the saintly office of protector of the oppressed. From several of the letters of Gregory the First, it appears that the Jews had laid their grievances before him in person, and obtained redress. He severely rebuked those whose intemperate zeal had led them to insult the synagogues, by placing the images of the Virgin and the crucified Redeemer within their walls; yet he was by no means remiss in his attempts to convert them. The tyrannical and bloody Chilperic, the contemporary king of Paris and Soissons, with the fierce and ignorant ardour of a man who hoped by his savage zeal for Christian faith to obtain remission of his dreadful violations of Christian virtue, compelled the Jews, who seem to have been numerous and wealthy, to receive baptism. But it was observed, that these compulsory converts observed their own Sabbath as strictly as that of the Christians; and Priscens, the head of the nation, openly expressed his abhorrence of the tenets

of Christianity. He was imprisoned, but released on payment of a large sum of money, and commanded to marry his son to a Christian woman Phatir, a converted Jew, related to the king by marriage set on him, murdered him, and fled with his companions to an asylum in the church of St. Julian. The assassin was pardoned, retired into Burgundy, but was killed a short time after. But the Pope employed more gentle and politic, and doubtless more effective, means of conversion. He forbade, as we have said, all outrage or insult; but, as we have also seen, he executed rigidly the Laws of Asylum, by which the Jews daily lost their slaves; and while by his protection he appealed to their better feelings, he laid a temptation in the way of their avarice, by offering remission of taxes to all converted Jews. We shall hereafter see the manner in which Spain maintained its dark distinction of being the first, as well as the most ardent, votary of religious persecution, and the fatal consequences of her implacable intolerance.

Scarcely had the world begun to breathe after the successive shocks which its social state had received from the inroads of the northern Barbarians—scarcely had it begun to assume some appearance of order, as the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively arose upon the broken ruins of the Roman empire—when Mahometanism suddenly broke forth, and, spreading with irresistible rapidity over great part of Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, effected a complete revolution in the government, the manners and the religion of half the world. The Persian kingdom fell at once, and the Magian religion was almost extinguished. In the Asiatic provinces, Christianity, excepting in Armenia, sank into an inconsiderable and persecuted sect; a magnificent mosque replaced the Jewish temple on the summit of Moriah; the flourishing churches of Africa, the

diocesses of Cyprian and Augustine, were yielded up to the interpreters of the Koran ; and the Cross found a precarious refuge among the mountains of the Asturias, while the Crescent shone over the rich valleys of Spain, and the splendid palaces of Grenada and Cordova. Such a revolution, as it submitted them to new masters, could not but materially affect the condition of the Jews. In most respects the change was highly favourable : for, though sometimes despised and persecuted by the Saracenic emperors and caliphs, in general their state was far less precarious and depressed than under the Christians ; and they rose to their great era of distinction in wealth, cultivation, and in letters, under the mild dominion of the Arabian dynasty in Spain.

In order to trace the influence of this great revolution, we return to the East, and survey the state of the Jews—I. under the Byzantine empire—II. under the later Persian monarchs—and III. in Arabia. The Greek empire was rapidly verging to decay ; the imperial court was a scene of intrigue and licentiousness, more like that of an Asiatic sultan, than of the heir of the Roman name ; the capital was distracted by factions, not set in arms in support of any of those great principles which dignify, if they do not vindicate, the violence of human passions, but in assertion of the superior skill of dancers and charioteers—the circus, not the senate, was the scene of their turbulence—the actor, not the orator, was the object of popular excitement. A eunuch, Narses, and a Thracian peasant, Belisarius, alone maintained the fame of Rome for valour and ability in war. The Church was rapidly increasing in power, but by no means, notwithstanding the virtues and talents of men like Chrysostom, in the great attributes of the Christian religion—wisdom, holiness, and mercy. The Jews, probably by their industry as traders, and their con-

nexion with their brethren in the East, ministered considerably to the splendour and luxury of the imperial court; but the fall of the Patriarchate, and the dispersion of the community in Palestine, which seems entirely to have lost the centre of unity which it possessed in the religious capital, Tiberias, lowered the whole race in general estimation. They were no longer a native community, or, it might almost be said, a state, whose existence was recognised by the supreme power, and who possessed an ostensible head, through whom the will of the sovereign might be communicated, or who might act as the representative of the nation. They sank into a sect, little differing from other religious communities which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the established Church. In this light they are considered in the imperial laws. Hitherto they had enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship; but the emperors now began to exclude from offices of honour and dignity all who did not conform to the dominant faith. In the sixth year of Justin the Elder, a law was promulgated to the following effect. All unbelievers, heathens, Jews, and Samaritans, shall henceforth undertake no office of magistracy, nor be invested with any dignity in the state; neither be judges, nor prefects, nor guardians of cities, lest they may have an opportunity of punishing or judging Christians, and even bishops.—They must be likewise excluded from all military functions. In case of the breach of this law, all their acts are null and void, and the offender shall be punished by a fine of twenty pounds of gold. This law, which comprehends Samaritans as well as Jews, leads us to the curious fact of the importance attained by that people during the reigns of Justin and Justinian. Hitherto their petty religious republic seems to have lurked in peaceful insignificance; now, not only do its members appear dispersed along the shores of the Mediterranean,

sharing the commerce with their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Italy, and Sicily, but the peace of the empire was disturbed by their fierce and frequent insurrections in Palestine. Already in the preceding reign, that of Zeno, their city of Sichem, which had now assumed the name of Neapolis (Naplous), had been the scene of a sanguinary tumult, of which we have only the Christian narrative—the rest must be made up, in some degree, from conjecture. The Samaritans still possessed their sacred mountain of Gerizim, on which they duly paid their devotions; no stately temple rose on the summit of the hill, but the lofty height was consecrated by the veneration of ages. It is not improbable that the Christians, who were always zealously disposed to invade the sanctuary of unbelief, and to purify, by the erection of a church, every spot which had been long profaned by any other form of worship, might look with holy impatience for the period when a fane in honour of Christ should rise on the top of Mount Gerizim. The language of our Lord to the woman of Samaria, according to their interpretation, prophetically foreshowed the dedication of that holy mountain to a purer worship. No motive can be suggested, so probable as the apprehension of such a design, for the furious, and as we are told, unprovoked attack of the Samaritans on the Christian church in Naplous. They broke in on Easter day—slew great numbers—seized the bishop Terebinthus in the act of celebrating the Holy Sacrament—wounded him—cut off several of his fingers, as they clung with pious tenacity to the consecrated emblems, which the invaders misused with such sacrilegious and shameless fury as a Christian dared not describe. The bishop fled to Constantinople, appeared before the emperor, showed his mutilated hands, and at the same time reminded him of our Lord's prophecy. Zeno commanded the offenders to be severely punished and the Samaritans

from Gerizim, and the Christians had, we trust not the vindictive, satisfaction of beholding a chapel to the Virgin on the peak of the holy mountain, surrounded by a strong wall of brick, where, however a watch was constantly kept to guard it from the Samaritans. During the reign of Anastasius, some zealots, led by a woman, clambered up the steep side of the precipice, reached the church, and cut the guard to pieces. They then cried out to their countrymen below to join them; but the timid Samaritans refused to hearken to their call, and Procopius, the governor, a man of prudence and decision, allayed the tumult by the punishment of the offenders. This chapel was still further strengthened by Justinian; and five other churches, destroyed by the Samaritans, rebuilt.

The rankling animosity between the two religions—aggravated, no doubt, by the intolerant laws of Justinian, hereafter to be noticed—broke out into a ferocious, though desperate, insurrection. A certain Julian, by some reported to have been a robber chieftain, appeared at the head of the Samaritans. He assumed, it is averred, the title of king, and even had some pretensions to the character of a Messiah. All around Naplous they wasted the possessions of the Christians with fire and sword, burned the churches, and treated the priests with the most shameless indignities. By one account, Julian is said to have entered Naplous while the games were celebrating. The victor was named Nicias; Julian summoned him before his presence, and demanded his religion; on his reply that he was a Christian, he struck his head off at a blow. The whole district was a desert: one bishop had fallen in the massacre, and many priests were thrown into prison or torn in pieces. A great force was sent into the province; and, after a bloody battle, the Samaritans were defeated, Julian slain, and Silvanus, the most barbarous enemy of the Christians,

taken, and put to death. One, however, of the insurgents, named Arsenius, found his way to Constantinople. He was a man of great eloquence and ability, and succeeded in convincing the emperor, who was usually entirely under the priestly influence, as well as the empress, that the Christians were the real authors of this insurrection. The ecclesiastics of Palestine were seized with amazement and terror at the progress of this man—whom they characterize as “a crafty and wicked liar”—in the favour of the emperor. They had recourse to St. Sabas, and induced him to undertake a mission to Constantinople in their defence. The venerable age (he was ninety years old) and the sanctity of Sabas triumphed over, it may be feared, the reason and justice of Arsenius. The Samaritans were condemned; the leaders of the insurrection adjudged to death; the rest of the people expelled, and interdicted from settling again in Naplous; and, by a strange edict, the Samaritans were no longer to inherit the property of their fathers. Arsenius himself bowed to the storm and embraced Christianity; many of the Samaritans, at the preaching of Sabas, or more probably to secure their property to their children, followed his example, or pretended to do so, with hypocrisy which may offend, but cannot surprise. The emperor offered magnificent presents to Sabas: the holy man rejected every personal advantage; but requested a remission of taxes for his brethren, whose fields had been wasted and whose property burned in the recent tumults.

This apparent success in converting the great part of an obstinate race of unbelievers to the true faith, with some other events of the same nature, no doubt encouraged Justinian in his severe legislative enactments against the Jews and Samaritans. These nations were confounded with the recreant or disobedient sons of the Church, the heretics: they were deprived of all civil dignities, and at

the same time compelled to undertake the offices attached to those dignities. Every burthen of society was laid upon them; but the honour and distinction which should be the inseparable rewards of such public services were sternly denied. The proselyting zeal which dictated the constitutions of Justinian, entered into the bosom of families, under the specious pretext of securing Christian converts from the unwarrantable exercise of the parental authority. Either supposing that the law which forbade the intermarriages of Samaritans or Jews with Christians was perpetually eluded, or providing for the case of one party becoming a convert while the other adhered to his faith, Justinian enacted "that among parents of different religions, the chief authority should rest with the true religion; in defiance of the father, the children were to be under the care of the mother; and the father could not, on the ground of religion, refuse either a maintenance, or his necessary expenses to the child. Unbelieving parents, who have no other well-grounded cause of complaint against their believing children, are bound to leave them their property, to afford them a maintenance, to provide them with all necessaries, to marry them to true believers, to bestow on them dowries and bridal presents according to the decree of the prefect or the bishop." Further, the true believing children of unbelieving parents, if they have been guilty of no act of delinquency towards them, shall receive that share of their inheritance, undiminished, which would have fallen to them if their parents had died intestate; and every will made in contravention of this regulation is declared null and void. If they have been guilty of any delinquency, they may be indicted and punished; but even then they have a right to a fourth part of the property.

The above edict included both Jews and Samaritans: in the following, an invidious distinction was

made. In litigations between Christians and Jews, or Christians among each other, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan is inadmissible: in the litigations of Jews among each other, the Jew's testimony is valid; that of a Samaritan, as of a Manichean, of no value. Another statute enacted, that the synagogues of the Samaritans should be destroyed, and whoever attempted to rebuild them should be severely punished. The Samaritans were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing their property: only true believers shall presume to administer to the effects of a heretic, whether he die with or without a will. Thus no Samaritan had more than a life interest in his property; unless his son was an apostate, it was for ever alienated, and went to a stranger or to the imperial treasury. No Samaritan might bear any office, neither teach nor plead in courts of law: impediments were even placed in the way of his conversion: if he conformed in order to obtain an office, he was obliged to bring his wife and children with him to the Church. Not merely could he not bequeath, he could not convey property to an unbeliever: if he did so, it was confiscated to the treasury. The children of mixed marriages must be believers, or forfeit their inheritance; or where this is partly the case, the unbelieving children are excluded. The true believers alone inherit: if none are members of the Church, it passes to the nearest relations; in default of these, to the treasury. The prefects and bishops are to enforce these statutes in their respective districts, and the infringement of them is to be punished by the severest penalties. These cruel statutes—which sowed dissension in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion—were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the imperial legislator.

A decree was issued a few years after, modifying these enactments, but in such a manner as perhaps might tempt the sufferers to quote, if they had dared, the sentence of their own wise king, “that the tender mercies of wicked men are cruel.” In this edict, after some pompous self-adulation on his own clemency, Justinian declared, that on account of the good conduct of the Samaritans, attested by Sergius, bishop of Cæsarea, who, to his honour, seems to have interposed in their behalf, the rigour of the former laws was mitigated. The Samaritans were permitted to make wills, to convey property, to manumit slaves, to transact all business among each other. It abandoned all claims of the treasury upon their property; but it retained the following limitation, “because it was just that Christian heirs should have some advantage over unbelievers.” Where part of the family had embraced Christianity, and the father died intestate, the children who were true believers inherited to the exclusion of the rest. But in case the latter, at a subsequent period, were converted, they were reinstated in their inheritance, with the loss only of the interest of those years during which they remained obstinate. Where the father made a will, the unbelieving heirs could only claim a sixth part, the rest could only be obtained, as above, by the change of their religion. A deceitful peace, maintained by the establishment of a proconsul in Syria, with a considerable body of troops, lasted for about twenty-five years. At the end of that time a new insurrection took place in Cæsarea; the Jews and Samaritans rose, attacked the Christians, demolished the churches, surprised and massacred the prefect Stephanus in his palace, and plundered the building. The wife of Stephanus fled to Constantinople: Adamantius was commissioned to inquire into the origin of the tumult, and to proceed against the guilty with the utmost rigour. Of the real cause we know nothing. Adamantius condemned the insurgents, executed many, confis-

cated the property of the most wealthy, probably for the restoration of the churches, and reduced the whole province to peace.

As the Samaritans will appear no more in our history, we pursue to its termination our account of this people. The Samaritans found means to elude these laws by submitting to baptism, resuming their property, and then quietly falling back to their ancient faith. A law of Justin, the son of Justinian, denounces this practice, and re-enacts almost the whole iniquitous statute of his father. How far these measures tended to the comparative extinction of the Samaritan race, we cannot ascertain; but, at this time, they had so almost entirely in their hands the trade of money-changing, that a money-changer and a Samaritan, as afterward a Jew and a usurer, were equivalent terms. Yet after this period, few and faint traces of their existence, as a separate people, appear in history. In the seventeenth century it was discovered that a small community still dwelt in the neighbourhood of their holy mountain, and had survived all the vicissitudes of ages in a country remarkable for its perpetual revolutions; that they still possessed the copy of the Law in the old Samaritan character; and even to this day their descendants, a feeble remnant of this once numerous people, is visited with interest by the traveller to the Holy Land.

The zeal of the emperor, while it burned more fiercely against the turbulent and disaffected Samaritans, in whose insurrections the Jews of Palestine seem to have shared both the guilt and the calamities, did not neglect any opportunity of attempting either by force, or, we can scarcely hesitate to add, fraud, the proselytism of the Jews dispersed throughout the Eastern empire. The two great means of conversion were penal laws and miracles. Among the boasted triumphs of the reconquest of Africa from the Vandals, was the reduction to the true faith of

Borium, a town on the borders of the Pentapolis, where the Jews are said to have had a splendid temple, no doubt a synagogue more costly than usual. The miracles of the age are almost too puerile to relate: we give one specimen as characteristic of the times. It was the custom of the Church to distribute the crumbs of the consecrated Host, which might remain, to children summoned for that purpose from their schools. While Menas was bishop of Constantinople, the child of a Jewish glass-blower went to the church with the rest, and partook of the sacred elements. The father, inquiring the cause of his delay, discovered what he had done. In his fury he seized him, and shut him up in the blazing furnace. The mother went wandering about the city, wailing and seeking her lost offspring. The third day she sat down by the door of the workshop, still weeping and calling on the name of her child. The child answered from the furnace; the doors were forced open, and the child discovered sitting unhurt amid the red-hot ashes. His account was, that a lady in a purple robe, of course the blessed Virgin, had appeared and poured water on the coals that were immediately around him. The unnatural father was put to death, the mother and child baptized. Such were the legends which were to convince that people, who had rejected the miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

The laws were probably little more effective, and deeply imbued with the darkness of the age. An imperial decree, not easily understood, and not worth much pains to understand, was issued, to establish a uniformity in the time at which the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter were celebrated. The Jews were forbidden, under heavy pecuniary mulcts, from following their own calculations. In the same edict, with singular ignorance of the usages of the people for whom he was legislating, Justinian prohibited the Jews from eating

the Pascal Lamb, a practice which they had discontinued for five centuries. But the emperor had an opportunity of inflicting upon Judaism a more fatal blow, of which it is probable he himself did not apprehend entirely the important consequences. A schism had arisen in the synagogues, between the teachers and the commonalty, the clergy and the laity of the Jews. With a singular abandonment of their jealousy of all foreign interference in what may be called the domestic concerns of their religion, an appeal was made to the emperor, and the conflicting parties awaited his mandate on a subject, where, one might have supposed, they would rather have looked for the interposition of their God. The great point in dispute was the language in which the Scripture was to be read, and the expositions made, in the synagogue. On the decision the dominion of the Rabbins depended: it trembled to its foundations. With the fall of the Patriarchate, the connexion of the scattered synagogues of the West with Palestine had been interrupted; the schools had likewise been entirely closed, or fallen into disrepute; the Semicha, or ordination by the imposition of hands, formerly received in Palestine, was suspended; the learned youth were obliged to seek their education in the schools of Babylonia. Thus they lost the sanctity, which still in popular opinion attached to whatever came from the Holy Land: they probably were strangers, and by no means well acquainted with the western languages. The people, who had now entirely forgotten both the Hebrew of the Scriptures, and the vernacular language of Palestine, began imperiously to demand the general use of Greek translations. The craft of the Rabbins was in danger; it rested almost entirely on their knowledge of the original Hebrew writings, still more of the Mischnaioth and Talmudic comments. Hebrew was the sacred language; and the language of learn-

ing once superseded by Greek, the mystery would be open to profane eyes, and reason and plain common sense, instead of authority, might become the bold interpreters of the written Law, perhaps would dare to reject entirely the dominion of tradition. In vain had been all their painful and reverential labours on the sacred books. In vain had they counted every letter, every point, every mark ; and found mysteries in the number of times in which each letter occurred in the whole volume, in its position, in its relation to other letters. The deep and hidden things of the Law were inseparable from the Hebrew character. Besides its plain and obvious meaning, every text was significant of higher matters to the ears of the initiate. All the decisions of the schools, all the sayings of the Rabbins, were locked up in that sacred language. The Mischna and the Talmud itself might become a dead letter ; for if the Scriptures were read in the vernacular tongue, the knowledge of Hebrew might cease to be a necessary qualification of the teacher. The Rabbins had much reason and more stubborn practice on their side. The elder wise men had always looked with jealousy on the encroachment of Greek letters. "Cursed be he that eateth swine's flesh, and teacheth his child Greek," had been an old axiom, perhaps, from the time of the Asmoneans. They were fighting for life and death, and armed themselves with all the spiritual terrors they could assume. They fulminated their anathemas ; they branded their opponents as freethinkers and atheists. At length the affair came before the emperor. Whether his passion for legislation, which sometimes, even the Christian bishops complained, induced Justinian to intrude into concerns beyond his province, led him to regulate the synagogue ; or whether the disputes ran so high as to disturb the public peace, and demand the interference of the supreme authority : an edict was issued, which is

still extant among the imperial constitutions. It enacted that no one, who wished to do so, should be prevented from reading the Greek Scriptures in the synagogue ; it enjoined those who read Greek, to use the translation of the Seventy, which had been executed under the special, though less manifest, influence of the Holy Ghost, because the prophecies relating to Christianity were most clear in that translation ; but it did not prohibit the version of Aquila or any other. It positively interdicted the use of the Mischna as the invention of worldly men, which misled the people into miserable superstition. None of the Archiperecitæ, the readers of Peracha or Extracts of the Talmud, on pain of confiscation of goods and corporal chastisement, were to forbid the use of other languages, or dare to utter ban or interdict against such practices. On the other hand, freethinking, atheism, and such crimes, were to be severely punished ; whoever denied the existence of God, of the angels, the creation, and final judgment, was condemned to death. The law terminated with a solemn admonition to read the Scriptures, so as to improve their spirits and hearts and increase in knowledge and morality. The law was wise and moderate ; but, as Jost observes, the emperor probably prevented its operation by betraying too openly its object—the conversion of the Jews. The spirit of the age was against him. The Rabbins eventually triumphed—the Talmud maintained its authority.

In his former persecuting edicts, the short-sighted emperor had alike miscalculated his own strength and the weakness of the Jews. Rome, in the zenith of her power, might despise the discontents of a scattered people, or a mutinous province ; but in these disastrous times, it was dangerous for the feeble Eastern empire to alienate the affections of the meanest of its subjects. The Jews had the power, and could not be expected to want the de-

sure of vengeance. Even in the West they were of some importance. During the siege of Naples by Belisarius, the Jews, who loved the milder dominion of the Gothic kings, defended one quarter of the city with obstinate resolution, and yielded only when the conqueror was within the gates. On the eastern frontier, now that the Persian monarchy on the Tigris was an equal match for the wreck of the Roman empire on the Bosphorus, an oppressed and unruly population, on the accessible frontier of Syria, holding perpetual intercourse with their more favoured, though by no means unpersecuted, brethren in Babylonia, might be suspected of awaiting with ill-suppressed impatience the time when, during some inevitable collision between the two empires, they might find an opportunity of vengeance on masters against whom they had so long an arrear of wrong. The hour at length came ; but as the affairs of the Jews in the Eastern empire, at least in Palestine, are now inseparably moulded up with those of Persia, we turn our attention to the Eastern Jews. briefly trace their history down to the time of Justinian, and then pursue the mingled thread to the appearance of Mahomet.

II. From the death of R. Asche, who commenced the Babylonian Talmud, dark were the days of the children of the captivity. During the reigns of the Persian kings from Izdigerdes to Kobad, from about 430 to 530 (A. C.), the dominant Magian religion oppressed alike the Christian and the Jew. The Sabbath, say the Jewish traditions, was taken away. Still, however, the Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity, maintained his state, and the famous schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha were open. Civil discords had nearly destroyed the enfeebled state ; and the house of David, from whose loins the Princes of the Captivity deduced their rank, was well nigh extinct. Here, as elsewhere, great jealousies existed between the

temporal and spiritual power; the former attempted, the latter would not endure, encroachment. The rupture took place when it might have been expected that they would have lived in the greatest harmony; for the Prince of the Captivity, R. Hunu, had married the daughter of R. Chanina, the Master of the Schools. But ambition listens not to the claims of blood and kindred. The Resch-Glutha, or his judge, attempted to interpret the Talmud in the presence of the Wise Man. Chanina resisted this usurpation of his province. The Resch-Glutha decoyed Chanina into his power, plucked his beard, and cast him forth, interdicting all the inhabitants of the city from affording him shelter, or the necessities of life. Chanina, we have no better history than this legend to offer, wept and prayed. A pestilence broke out in the royal family, and every soul perished, except a child, with which the widowed daughter of Chanina, the Prince's wife, was pregnant. Chanina dreamed a dream—he saw himself in a garden, where he cut down all the stately cedars; one young plant alone remained. He was awakened as by a violent blow on the head; it seemed to reproach him for having thus cut off all the lofty cedars of the house of David, and forcibly reminded him of his duty to watch over the single scion of the royal stock. He waited night and day by his daughter's door; neither the fiery heat of noon, nor torrents of rain, could induce him to remove till the child was born. He took him and superintended his education with the most diligent care. In the mean time, a certain Paphra, distantly allied to the royal house, bought, like the Roman Didius, the princely dignity, and enjoyed it for fifteen years. At that convenient time he came to a most ignoble end; a fly flew into his nose, and made him sneeze so violently that he died! The young Zutra ascended the throne. During his reign of twenty years, an enthusiast named Meir brought

ruin on the whole community. He proclaimed himself, most probably, a Messiah; he pretended that a fiery column preceded his march, and with four hundred desperate followers he laid waste the country. The Persian king, Kobad, speedily suppressed the insurrection. Meir was put to death, and all the heads of the Captivity were involved in his fate. The Prince of the Captivity, Zutra, and R. Chanina, his tutor, were hanged. This great insurrection took place in 530, a year before Nushirvan's accession. At this disastrous period, many of the Babylonian Jews wandered from their afflicted settlements; some, it is believed, found their way to the coast of Malabar. A son of Zutra fled to Tiberias, where he renewed the Semicha, or laying on of hands, and, it is supposed, contributed to disseminate the Babylonian Talmud among the Jews of the West. Chosroes the Just, or Nushirvan, who ascended the throne of Persia in the fifth year of Justinian, 531, was not more favourable to the Jews of Babylonia: their schools were closed by authority; but so great was the impatience of the Palestinian Israelites under the oppressive laws of Justinian, that they looked with anxious hope to, and are reported by Christian writers to have urged, by an offer of 50,000 men, and by the splendid prospect of the plunder of the Christian Jerusalem, the hostile advance of the Persian monarch. These hopes were frustrated by the conclusion of an "everlasting peace" between Justinian and Nushirvan, in which the pride of Rome was obliged to stoop to the payment of a great sum of money. The "everlasting peace" endured barely seven years, and the hopes of the Jews were again excited; but their day of vengeance was not yet come. After extending his conquests to Antioch, Nushirvan was constrained by the ability of Belisarius to retreat. Peace was again concluded; Jerusalem remained unplundered, and the Jews and Samaritans were

abandoned to the vindictive justice of their former masters. Under Hormisdas, the successor of Chosroes Nushirvan, the Babylonian Jews were restored to their prosperity : their schools in Pumbeditha, Sura, and Nahardea were reopened ; a new order of doctors, the Gaonim, the Illustrious, arose ; and their Prince resumed his state. After the fall and death of the weak Hormisdas, the Jews espoused the party of the usurper Baharam, or Varanes, against the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes the Second, the rightful heir of the throne, and by no means, we believe with Gibbon, the parricide, who fled to implore, and obtained, the assistance of Maurice, emperor of the East. Among the executions which followed the triumphant restoration of Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors, the Jews had their full share. There was a new Antioch built by Nushirvan, and peopled with the inhabitants of the old city, whom he transported thither, and who were struck with agreeable astonishment at finding the exact counter part of every house and street of their former residence. The Jews formed a considerable part of this community, and when the storm first burst on the city, Nabod, the general of Chosroes, inflicted on them the most dreadful penalties for their disloyalty : some were cut off by the sword, others tortured, others reduced to slavery. But this was vengeance, not persecution ; the Jews submitted, and made their peace with Chosroes. When that king, summoned alike by gratitude and ambition, prepared to burst on the Byzantine empire, to revenge on the barbarous usurper Phocas the murder of his friend and protector Maurice, and that of his five sons, the Palestinian Jews were in a state of frantic excitement, still further aggravated by the persecutions of Phocas, who compelled a great number of their brethren to submit to baptism. Ever rash in their insurrections, they could not wait the appointed time;

they rose in Antioch, set the splendid palaces of the principal inhabitants on fire, slew numbers, treated the Patriarch Anastasius with the worst indignity and dragged him through the streets till he died.

Phocas sent Bonosus and Cotto against the insurgents, who defeated them with great loss, and revenged, as far as they had time, the outrages which had been committed in all quarters. But they were compelled to retreat; and the Jews beheld, in a paroxysm of exultation, the unresisted squadrons of Chosroes pouring over the frontier: Antioch surrendered without a blow.

Chosroes turned towards Constantinople; his general, Carusia, advanced to the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem. The Jews arose at his approach; from Tiberias and Nazareth they joined him in great numbers, till their force amounted, according to report, to 24,000 men. Before the fall of Jerusalem, new causes of exasperation were added to the dreadful arrears of ancient vengeance. In Tyre, it is said, that the incredible number of 40,000 Jews had taken up their dwelling. They sent secret messengers to all their brethren in Palestine, in Damascus, in Cyprus, in the mountainous districts of Galilee, and in Tiberias, to assemble suddenly before the walls of that city, on the night of the Christian Easter. The conspiracy reached the ears of the Christians. The bishop and powerful citizens seized the most wealthy of the Jews, threw them into prison, and put the gates and walls in the best possible state of defence. The Jews appeared, and revenged themselves by the destruction of the suburbs for the failure of their surprise. But every time a Christian church, the great object of their animosity, was set on fire, the besieged struck off the heads of a hundred Jewish prisoners, and cast them over the wall. This horrible retaliation produced no effect; twenty churches sank into ashes, and the heads of 2000 Jews lay bleaching on the

sand. At length, on a rumour of the advance of the imperial forces, the Jews retreated to join their brethren in the easier achievement of entering, under the protection of their Persian allies, the streets of Christian Jerusalem. It had come at length, the long-expected hour of triumph and vengeance; and they did not neglect the opportunity. They washed away the profanation of the holy city in Christian blood. The Persians are said to have sold the miserable captives for money. The vengeance of the Jews was stronger than their avarice; not only did they not scruple to sacrifice their treasures in the purchase of these devoted bondsmen, they put to death without remorse all they had purchased at a lavish price. It was a rumour of the time that 90,000 perished. Every Christian church was demolished; that of the Holy Sepulchre was the great object of furious hatred; the stately building of Helena and Constantine was abandoned to the flames; “the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day.” But the dream of Jewish triumph was short; the hope of again possessing, if not in independence, under the mild protection of the Persian monarch, the holy city of their forefathers, vanished in a few years. The emperor Heraclius, who seemed to slumber on the throne of Byzantium, like another Sardanapalus, suddenly broke the bonds of sloth and pleasure; after a few campaigns, conducted by the Roman with equal boldness and ability, the Persian monarch, instead of arraying his victorious troops under the walls of Byzantium, trembled within his own insecure capital, and the provinces which he had overrun, Syria and Egypt, passed quietly under the sway of their former masters. Heraclius himself visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim, where the wood of the true Cross, which had been carried away to Persia, was reinstated with due solemnity, and the Christian churches restored to their former magni-

cence. If the clergy enforced upon the kneeling and penitent emperor the persecution of the Jews, it must be acknowledged that provocation was not wanting; for how many of them had been eye-witnesses of, perhaps sufferers in, the horrible atrocities committed on the capture of the city. Yet we have no authentic account of great severities exercised by Heraclius. The law of Hadrian was re-enacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city, a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy, rather than of oppression.

BOOK XXII.

JUDAISM AND MAHOMETANISM.

Jews in Arabia—Jewish Kingdom in Homeritis—Rise of Mahomet—Wars against the Arabian Jews—Progress of Mahometanism State of Spain—Cruel Laws of the Visigothic Kings—Conquest of Spain by the Moors—Persecuting Laws in France.

DURING the conflict between the Persian and Roman emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia, which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mahomet had already announced his religious doctrine—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet"—and the vallies of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle-cry of his followers, "The Koran or death." The Jews were among the first of whom Mahomet endeavoured to make proselytes—the first opponents—and the first victims of the sanguinary teaching of the new apostle. For centuries a Jewish kingdom, unconnected either with the Jews of Palestine or Babylonia, had existed in that district of Arabia called, in comparison to the stony soil of one part, and the sandy waste of the other, Arabia the Happy. Of their origin we have no distinct account, but among the various afflictions and dispersions of the Jewish people, it would have been extraordinary if a place of refuge so near, and at the same time so secure, had not tempted them to venture on the perils of the desert—which, once passed, presented an almost insuperable barrier to the pursuit of an enemy. Their mercantile brethren, who visited the ports of the Red Sea, might bring home intelligence of the pleasant valleys which ran down to the coast, and from which gales of aromatic sweetness were

wasted to their barks as they passed along. Ancient tradition pointed, and probably with truth, to these regions, as the dwelling of that famous queen of Sheba who had visited their great king in his splendour, and in the hospitable dominions of her descendants the race of Solomon's subjects might find refuge. In some respects the Arabian tribes were their brethren : they seem to have entertained great respect, if they did not learn it from the Jews, for the memory of Abraham ; —they practised circumcision in Sabaea, like the Jews, on the eighth day, and they abhorred swine's flesh. However they came there, Jewish settlers, at least one hundred and twenty years before Christ, had built cities and castles, and established an independent kingdom. Arabian tradition, we dare not dignify it with the name of history, assigns a Jewish king to the district of Homeritis, about that period, named Abu-Carb-Asaad. It adds the inconsistent circumstance, that he first strewed with carpets the sacred temple of Mecca, called the Caaba. If this be true, Judaism in Arabia must have been more social and tolerant than elsewhere—for the Caaba, before the time of Mahomet, was undoubtedly a temple of idolatrous worship ; and, though the Jew might assert that the God of Israel maintained the first place, many associate or subordinate deities claimed their portion in the sacrifices of Mecca. The line of Jewish kings in Homeritis is continued, though in a broken series—but we have no space for these barren annals—and pass on to the last of these Homeritish kings, who reigned and fell a short time before the rise of Mahometanism. The feuds of Christians and Jews spread into these retired and fertile valleys—and connected, perhaps, with political circumstances, inflamed the warlike habits of tribes in which the old Arabian blood was far from extinct. Christianity had first penetrated into Yemen in an

Arian form, probably during the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine the Great. With the Arians, the Jews, as usual, seem to have lived on terms of amity. The Catholic faith spread from the other side of the Red Sea, under the protecting influence of the powerful kings of Ethiopia or Abyssinia. Eles-baan, the king of that country, had extended his conquests over the opposite shore of the Red Sea—and Dunaan, the Jewish king of Homeritis, after many defeats, had been obliged to pay tribute to the Ethiopian. But his restless spirit disdained submission; every defeat only kindled the burning desire of vengeance and independence. The invasions of the Ethiopian, dependent on the precarious navigation of the Red Sea, were often suspended—probably, at certain periods, were entirely cut off. Dunaan resolved on the bold measure of attempting the sudden extermination of the Christian power in Yemen; after the loss of their allies, the Abyssinians would find it difficult to maintain their footing in the country. He seized a favourable opportunity, rose, and executed all the Christians within his power; and appeared before the walls of Nagra, their chief city, at the head of 120,000 men. He summoned the inhabitants to take down the cross which stood on a height above the city, and to deny the Christian religion. A singular negotiation ensued. The besieger demanded the acknowledgment of the Unity of God, as the supreme head of the church, and the denial of a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The Christians readily acknowledged the Unity, but refused to yield on the other point. On their refusal, Dunaan gave the signal for the execution of many of his Christian captives in the sight of their brethren, and the sale of others as slaves. At length, on a promise of freedom of conscience, the Christians opened their gates; but the perfidious Arab violated

the terms—threw Areth and others of the leaders into chains, and then demanded Paulus, the bishop, who had formerly been among his most eloquent opponents. The bishop had been for two years in his grave, but Dunaan revenged himself on his lifeless bones, which were disinterred and burned. Many priests, monks, and nuns, as the most active of his adversaries, suffered the same fate—and obtained, in the estimation of their brethren, the honours of martyrdom. Dunaan then tried arguments on Areth and the rest of his prisoners, to convince them of the absurdity of worshipping a crucified God. On the rejection of his arguments, he had recourse to more summary means of conviction—threats of instant death; these likewise were unavailing. Areth and his companions submitted cheerfully to execution—they could not well do otherwise—for their wives and daughters had before crowded forth, as if they were hastening to a bridal, to partake in the glory of suffering for their faith. Such, with many more particulars, is the tenor of a letter ascribed to Dunaan himself, and addressed to Al Mender, a prince of the Saracens, whose alliance he courted. We confess we doubt, or rather we feel assured, that this letter is either entirely fictitious, or greatly interpolated. The crimes of Dunaan, and the wrongs of the Christians, did not remain long unavenged. With the spring, Eles-baan, and a formidable force of 120,000 men, invaded the region. Dunaan, after an obstinate defence, was defeated, and lost his life; and in his person expired the Jewish kingdom of the Homerites. After his death, Abraham, son of Areth, founded a Christian kingdom, which scarcely acknowledged the sovereignty of the feeble son of Eles-baan. The Christian dynasty in its turn was overthrown by the conquering arm of the Persians, and Arabia was reckoned among the subject realms of Chosroes the Second.

But though they had lost their royal state, the Jews were still numerous and powerful in the Arabian peninsula; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence of their Ishmaelite brethren. Mahomet manifestly designed to unite all those tribes under his banner. While his creed declared implacable war against the worshippers of fire, it respected the doctrines of the Jews, and at least of the less orthodox Christians. The Apostle of God was the successor, greater indeed, of the former delegates of heaven, Moses and Isha (Jesus). It was only the fire of the Magians which was at once extinguished, and the palace of Chosroes, which shook to its foundations, at his birth. All the traditions which the old Arabian creed had reserved from immemorial ages, or with which it had been impregnated from the Jews resident in Arabia, still find their place in the Koran—and Abraham, the common father of the two races, holds the most conspicuous rank in their religious history. Jerusalem was appointed the first kebla of prayer, and in the nocturnal journey, during which the Prophet was transported to the holy city of the Jews, the mysterious winged horse, the Borak, arrested its course to pay homage to Mount Sinai, and to Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus. To the first part of the new creed, every Jewish heart would at once respond, “there is but one God”—why should not their enthusiasm, their impatience in awaiting the too long delayed Messiah, their ambition, or their avaricious eagerness to be glutted with the plunder of misbelievers, induce them to adopt the latter clause, “and Mahomet is his Prophet.” But the Jews stood aloof in sullen unbelief; they disclaimed a Messiah, sprung from the loins of Hagai the bondwoman. Nothing remained but to employ the stern proselytism of the sword; the tone of Mahomet changed at once—the Israelites ~~were~~ taunted with all the obstinacy and rebellion of ~~their~~

forefathers, and the Koran bitterly mocks their vain hope, “that the fires of hell shall touch them only for a few days.” The storm fell first on the Kainoka, a tribe who dwelt in Medina. In the peremptory summons to embrace Islamism were these words:—“Lend to the Lord on good interest.”—“Surely,” said the sarcastic Phineas, the son of Ayubah, “the Lord must be poor to require a loan!” The fiery Abubeker struck him a violent blow, and declared that, but for the treaty existing between the tribes, he would have smote off his head. An accidental tumult gave rise to the first open warfare. A Jewish goldsmith insulted an Arabian maiden—the Arabs slew the offender. The Jews were in a violent commotion, when Mahomet sent them the peremptory alternative, “Islamism or war.” “We are ignorant of war,” answered the Jews, “we would eat our bread in peace—but if you force us to fight, you shall find us men of courage.” They fled to a neighbouring citadel, and made a gallant defence for fifteen days, at the end of which they were forced to surrender. Mahomet issued immediate orders for a general massacre—he was hardly prevailed upon by the powerful Abdollah, son of Obba, to spare their lives—their wealth was pillaged. Their arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and Mahomet arrayed himself in a cuirass, which either the Jews or his followers asserted to have belonged to king David; they added, in defiance of Jewish history, that he had it on when he slew Goliah. The miserable tribe, thus plundered and defenceless, was driven to find a settlement on the frontier of Syria. The turn of the tribe of Nadhir came next; but they provoked their fate by a treacherous attempt to assassinate the Prophet at a peaceful banquet. They were besieged in their castle, and constrained to surrender, though with all the honours of war: their wealth was confiscated, by a special revelation of the Koran, to the sole

benefit of the Prophet himself and the poor, while the merciless edict pursues them into the next world, and, for their resistance to the Prophet, condemns them to everlasting hell-fire. The vanquished Nadhirites retreated from the neighbourhood of Medina—they joined the Koreish, the inveterate enemies of Mahomet, and the Jews of Koraidha, in a new war against the Prophet. On the very evening of the day on which Mahomet won the memorable battle of the "Ditch," against the Koreish, he advanced to extirpate the Jews of Koraidha—his followers even neglected, without rebuke, the evening prayer, in their thoughts of vengeance. The angel Gabriel, they believed, led the way, and poured terror into the hearts of the Koraidhites. Even Caab, the son of Asad, the brave author of the war, counselled surrender. They descended from their castle, hoping to obtain mercy through the intercession of their allies. The judgment was left to the venerable Saad, the son of Moadh. Saad was brought sick and wounded into the camp. "Oh, Abu-Amru," (it was the name of Saad,) cried the Jews, "have mercy upon us!" Saad uttered his judgment with awful solemnity—"Let all the men be put to death, and the women and children be slaves."—"A divine judgment," exclaimed the fierce Prophet—"a judgment from the highest of the seven Heavens." Seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of Medina—graves were dug—the unhappy wretches descended into them—the sword did its office, and the earth was heaped over their remains. The inflexible Prophet looked on without emotion, and this horrible butchery is related with triumph in the Koran. The next Jewish victim was the powerful Salam—he was assassinated in his bed by order of the Prophet. The Jews of Khaibar now alone preserved their independence. Khaibar was a district, six days' journey to the south-east of Medina; rich in palm-trees, and fertile in pas-

tures, and protected by eight castles, supposed to be impregnable. The apostle led forth to war two hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot; as he entered the territory of Khaibar, he exclaimed to his troops—"On with redoubled speed." He then turned to heaven in prayer—"Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Earths, Lord of the Demons, and all that they lead into evil, Lord of the Winds, and all they disperse and scatter—grant us the spoil of this city, and preserve us from evil." Allah had before promised him great booty: the evil he apprehended was, the poison which was afterward given to him by a Jewish woman. The prayer ended, he cried again, "Forward, in the name of Allah." The Jews of Khaibar were slumbering in peaceful repose—their first castle, Naem, was taken by assault—the second, Nataa, the castle of Asad, son of Moad, made a more vigorous defence. The Moslemites were reduced to great extremities, for the country had been wasted, and all the palm-trees destroyed. At length Nataa fell, and Mahomet became master of an immense booty in corn, dates, oil, honey, flocks of sheep, cattle, and asses, armour of all sorts—one author adds, that they brought to the Prophet a camel-skin full of collars, bracelets, garters, earrings, and buckles, all of gold, with an immense number of precious stones. Alkamus, the third citadel, made a still more gallant resistance. It was here that Ali distinguished himself—he planted the standard on the walls—he clove the skull of Marhab, the great champion of the Jews, through his buckler, two turbans, and a diamond, which he wore in his helmet, till the sword stuck between his jaws. Abu-Rafe, an eye-witness, declares, that the "Strong Lion" seized the gate of the city, which eight men could not lift,* and used it as a buckler. On the

* "Abu Rafe," observes Gibbon, in his usual caustic vein, "was an eye-witness—but who will be witness for Abu Rafe?"

capture of Alkamus, Kenana, the chief, was horribly tortured to induce him to betray the secret hiding-place of his treasures : but the patient Jew endured to the utmost, and a more merciful Islamite relieved him by striking off his head. Three more of the castles fell. The two last surrendered on the promise that the lives of the besieged should be spared.* The inhabitants of the cities of Fadai and Khaibar capitulated, on the condition of surrendering half the revenue of their fields and pastures, which they were still to cultivate, to the use of the Prophet : but the Prophet reserved the right of exiling them according to his good pleasure—a right which was afterward exercised by the caliph Omar, who alleged the dying injunction of the Prophet, that but one faith should be permitted to exist in Arabia. The Jews of Khaibar were transplanted to Syria ; yet it is supposed that some vestiges of their creed may still be traced among the Arab tribes of that district.

But the persecution of the Jews by the Mahometans was confined to the limits of the Arabian peninsula. Under the empire of the caliphs, which rapidly swallowed up the dominions of Persia, and many provinces of the Eastern empire, this people might rejoice in the change of masters : Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurp the sacred hill on which the Temple of Solomon stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown ; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new Temple might be destined for a holier use. Some Christian

* It was during this war, that a Jewish woman made Mahomet a present of a poisoned sheep—he tasted it, but was warned not to eat any more ; still its fatal effects lurked in his constitution.

writers accuse the Jews of a deep-laid **conspiracy** to advance the triumph of Mahometanism; but probably this conspiracy was no more than their united prayers and vows, that their oppressors might fall before a power which ruled them on the **easy terms** of tribute, the same which they exacted from all their conquered provinces. This union of their hearts was natural; they might well rejoice in the annihilation of the throne of Persia, for Izdigerd, the last of her kings, had commenced a fierce persecution of the Jews in his dominions; and the Christians could lay little claim to their faithful attachments as subjects. No doubt, as the tide of Moslemite conquest spread along the shores of Africa, the Jews exulted rather than deplored the change of masters; 40,000 of their race were found by Amrou in Alexandria, at the conquest of that city, and suffered no further oppression than the payment of tribute. In one country alone, it is probable, that they took a more active interest than their secret prayers and thanksgiving, in the triumph of the crescent. Spain had already taken the lead in Jewish persecution, Spain maintained its odious distinction, and Spain had without doubt reason to rue the measures which set a great part of its most industrious population in justifiable hostility to its laws and government, and made them ready to hail the foreign conqueror as a deliverer and benefactor. The lust of Roderick, and his violation of the daughter of Count Julian, led not more directly to the subjugation of his country, than the barbarous intolerance of his ancestors towards the Jews. Their wrongs, in the violence done to their consciences, were not less deep than that suffered by the innocent Caava; their vengeance was less guilty than that of the renegade Julian.

For a century their wrongs had been accumulating. As early as the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king of the Goths, they had attained unex-

ampled prosperity in the peninsula. They were to a great extent the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return; and often the administrators of the finances, for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy, and avarice conspired to point them out as objects of persecution. Laws were passed, of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble and the titles. "Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against Jewish wickedness, and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors. That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover according to their usage; that the Jews may not contract marriage according to their own customs; that the Jews may not practise circumcision; that the Jews make no distinction of meats; that the Jews bring no action against Christians; that Jews be not permitted to bear witness against Christians: of the time when their converted descendants are admissible as witnesses: of the penalties attached to the transgressions of these statutes by the Jews: against the circumcision of slaves by the Jews." These laws, however, do not at first seem to have come into operation. It is suspected, from a passage in a letter of Pope Gregory, that the Israelites paid a large sum of money for their suspension. A statute of Recared's successor, Sisebut, complained of the neglect of his predecessor's law, which forbade Jews from having Christian slaves, and declared all such slaves free. Sisebut was excited, it is said, by the emperor Heraclius, who had found out that his empire was threatened with danger from the circumcised, and ignorant of the secret growth of Mahometanism, determined to extirpate the dangerous race throughout the world. Among the smouldering ruins of the Christian churches, and the vestiges of recent Christian massacre in Jerusalem. Heraclius might unhappily have found stronger reasons

for the persecution of the Jews ; but as we have no satisfactory evidence of his having wreaked his vengeance in his own dominions, it may be doubted whether his jealous vigilance extended so far as to the extremity of the West. Sisebut must bear alone the shame, he probably thought, alone inherit the glory, of his oppressive measures. The Jews were commanded, at once, either to abandon their religion, or to leave the dominions of the Goths. According to their own account, they assembled with tears and groans in the court of the palaeæ, obtained an audience, and held a singular theological debate with their royal antagonist. The king declared that he was constrained by his conscience to force them to receive baptism. They adduced the example of Joshua, who did not, they said, compel the Canaanites to accept the law of Moses, but allowed them peace on condition of their observing the seven Noachie precepts. The king, perplexed by this daring historical argument, replied that he recognised no authority superior to his own ; that it was his bounden duty to enforce his law, because all who were not regenerate in baptism must perish everlastinglly. The Jews replied, that as the Israelites, who despised the Holy Land, were sufficiently punished by being excluded from its blessings, so they would pay an adequate penalty, by being excluded from eternal life. Sisebut rejoined, that men might be left to themselves to accept or refuse temporal advantages, but that they must be forced to receive spiritual blessings, as a child is forced to learn his lessons. But the king's orders were more effective than his arguments. The Jews were thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost rigour. Some fled into France or Africa, others abandoned their religion ; 90,000 are reported to have submitted to baptism : but how far their hearts renounced their creed, or how speedily they relapsed, must remain uncertain. In the next reign but one, that of Sise-

nand, the Jews obtained a relaxation of the oppressive statutes, probably from an unexpected quarter. The rare example was displayed of a synod of clergy in that age, of Spanish clergy, openly asserting the tenets of reason and Christian charity. The fourth Council of Toledo enacted, "that men ought not be compelled to believe, because God will have mercy on those on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. As man fell by his own free will in listening to the wiles of the serpent, so man can only be converted by his free acceptance of the Christian faith." Yet, with remarkable inconsistency, the Council likewise decreed, "that all who had embraced the faith must be constrained to adhere to it, and to remain within the Church. For as they had received the blessed sacrament, the holy name of God would be blasphemed, and the faith disgraced by their falling off." The gleam of light and mercy was but transient. The sixth Council of Toledo (it is probable that the wise and good Isidore of Seville had died in the interval) indignantly disclaimed the tolerant spirit of the former synod. It praised Suintila the Second for his violent proceedings against the Jews, and blessed God that they possessed a prince so full of ardour for the faith. They enacted that every king on his accession should take an oath to execute these laws, and passed an anathema on that sovereign who should neglect this indispensable part of his royal duty. Under Recesuinth, the eighth Council of Toledo, A. C. 653, re-enforced the obligation of the king to execute the laws against the Jews with the utmost severity. To this Council a curious petition was presented. The undersigned Jews expressed their readiness to submit to the law; the only indulgence they requested was an exemption from being constrained to eat pork, a food to which they could not habituate themselves, however disguised by cookery. But the most extraordinary fact in all this history

is, that not only were these laws ineffective in the conversion or extirpation of the Jews, but that there were Christians who embraced Judaism. One of the Visigothic laws indignantly enacts the punishment of death for such an offence. "Even many of the clergy," declares the tenth Council of Toledo, "a fact monstrous and unutterable, pursue an execrable commerce with the ungodly, and do not scruple to sell to them Christian slaves, and thus give them up to be converted to Judaism." The ninth Council had decreed, that all baptized Jews were bound to appear in the Church, not only on Christian, but also on Jewish holydays, lest, while professed Christians, they should practise secret Judaism. But the twelfth Council of Toledo, in the reign of Ervig, far surpassed its predecessors in the elaborate cruelty of its enactments, even if aimed only at Jews professing Christianity;—for there is a singular ambiguity in the wording of the law—it appears generally to include all Jews, but most of its provisions seem especially directed against conformists to the Church. Are we to suppose that the Church, only legislating for its members, intended these laws only for Jews within its pale? or that this conformity had been so general as to comprise nearly all the Jews within the realm? The Jews were assembled in the church of the Holy Virgin at Toledo, and the resolutions of this Christian assembly were read aloud. The preamble complained that the crafty Jews had eluded all former laws, and attributed the failure of these statutes to the severity of the punishment enacted, which was death in all cases—contrary, it was added, to the Holy Scriptures. The penalties of the new statutes were mitigated, but not in mercy. The general punishment was 100 lashes on the naked body; after that the offender was to be put in chains, banished, and his property confiscated to the lord of the soil. This was the penalty for pro-

fanning the name of Christ, rejecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, blaspheming the Trinity—for not bringing children or servants, themselves or their dependants, to baptism—for observing the Passover, the New Moon, the feast of Tabernacles (in these cases, on real conversion, the land was restored), for violating the Christian Sabbath, or the great festivals of the Church, either by working in the field, or in manufacture. If these days were desecrated by a servant, the master was liable to a fine. The circumcision of a child was more cruelly visited; on the man, by mutilation—on the woman, by the loss of her nose and the seizure of her property. The same penalty was attached to the conversion of a Christian to Judaism. The former punishment—scourging, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation—was incurred by those who made a difference in meats. An exemption was granted to new converts, who were not constrained to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. The same penalty fell on all who intermarried within the sixth degree of relationship. Such marriages were declared null; the property was to be divided among the children, if not Jews. If there were no children, or only children educated in Judaism, it fell to the lord of the soil. No marriage was hereafter to be contracted, without a clause in the act of dower that both would become Christians. All who offended against this law, even the parents concerned in such a marriage, were to be fined or scourged. All subjects of the kingdom who harboured, assisted, or concealed the flight of a Jew, were to be scourged, and have their property confiscated. Whoever received bribes from a Jew to conceal his practice of Judaism, was fined thrice the sum he had received. The Jew who read, or allowed his children to read, books written against Christianity, suffered 100 lashes; on the second offence the lashes were repeated, with banishment.

and confiscation. Christian slaves of Jews were declared free; the Jews had no right of emancipating them; but a given time was allowed, in which they might sell those of whom they were possessed. As many Jews, in order to retain their Christian slaves, pretended to Christianity, the whole race were commanded, by a given day, to bring their slaves for sale, or publicly to embrace Christianity. If not immediately baptized, they were to lodge a solemn protest of their faith with the bishop; and all converts were to take an oath, of which the form was subjoined—an oath of terrific sublimity, which even now makes the reader shudder, when he remembers that it was forced upon unwilling consciences, and perhaps taken by those who secretly renounced its obligations. All Jewish slaves, by embracing Christianity, obtained their freedom. No Jew could take any office by which he might have authority over, or constrain, a Christian, except in certain cases where power might be granted by the feudal lord. In such a case, if he abused the law, he was punished by the loss of half his property, or by stripes. Even the noble who granted such a power was liable to a fine, or, in default of payment, to the same ignominious punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house steward, or overseer. Should a bishop, priest, or ecclesiastic commit the property of the Church to a Jewish intendant, his property was to be confiscated—in default, himself burned! No Jew could travel from one town or province to another, without reporting himself to the bishop or judge of the place. They were forced to eat, drink, and communicate with Christians; they could not move without a certificate of good behaviour and a passport. On the Jewish Sabbath and holydays they were all to assemble before the bishop. The bishop was to appoint women to overtake their wives and daughters. The spiritual person who took a bribe to relax his vigilance, was to

be degraded and excommunicated. Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer, was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood, if their presence could be procured. The remission of penalties might be granted, on a certificate of Christian behaviour. All spiritual persons were to communicate these statutes to the Jews in their respective diocesses and cures. Such were the acts of the twelfth Council of Toledo: but happily, laws, when they are carried to such an extreme of cruelty as to shock the general feeling, usually prevent their own execution. The Council might enact, but the people would carry into effect but imperfectly, these horrible scenes of scourging and confiscation. Wealth, notwithstanding the menaces of the law, would purchase immunity and exemption; and, though many fled, and many probably outwardly conformed, the successor of Ervig, Egicea, found it expedient to relax the laws, so far as to allow baptized Jews all the privileges of citizens, which before were but jealously or imperfectly bestowed. Fear may have extorted this concession; but the fear of the monarch shows how ineffectual the former laws must have been, if the Jews were still so numerous as to be formidable. Already the shores of Africa were beginning to gleam with the camps of the Saracens, who threatened to cross the narrow strait, and overwhelm the trembling Gothic monarchy; and no wonder if the impatient Jews hourly uttered vows, or held secret correspondence with their free brethren in Africa, to accelerate the march of the victorious deliverer. The year after, a Council was again held at Toledo: the king denounced a general conspiracy of the Jews, to massacre the Christians, subdue the land, and overthrow the monarchy. "Already," declared the king, "this people, defiled by the blood of Christ, and infamous

for the profanation of their oaths, have meditated ruin against the king and kingdom—and proclaiming that their time is come, have begun the work of slaughter against the Catholics." The affrighted and obsequious churchmen instantly passed a decree to confiscate all the property of the Jews to the royal treasury—to disperse the whole race, as slaves through the country—to seize all their children under seventeen years of age—to bring them up as Christians, marry them to Christian wives, and to abolish for ever the exercise of the Jewish faith. A great flight of the Jews probably took place; for Witiza, the successor of Egica, attempting too late to heal the wounds by conciliation, granted them permission to return into the Gothic states, with full rights of freedom and citizenship. But their vows had been heard, or their intrigues had been successful; they returned, and to the enjoyment of all rights and privileges of freedom—not indeed under Christian kings, but under the dominion of the Moorish caliphs, who established their rule over almost the whole of Spain. The munificence of these sovereigns bears the appearance of gratitude for valuable services, and confirms the suspicion that the Jews were highly instrumental in advancing the triumph of the crescent. Their reward was a golden age of freedom, of civilization, and of letters. They shared with and emulated their splendid masters in all the luxuries and arts which soften and embellish life, during that era of high, though, if we may so say, somewhat barbaric, civilization, under which the southern provinces of Spain became that paradise for which they were designed by nature.

France had obeyed the signal of Spain, and hung out the bloody flag of persecution. But her measures were ill-combined, and probably worse executed; for many of the fugitives from Spain sought and found comparative security among their brethren in

Gaul. Early in the seventh century, A. C. 615, Clotaire the Second, in a council of the clergy, issued a decree, disqualifying the Jews from all military or civil offices which gave them authority over Christians. The Council of Rheims (627) annulled all bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves; that of Châlons, on the Marne, prohibited the Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the frontier of the kingdom. The devout Dagobert, it is said, though probably with as little truth, instigated, like his contemporary, Sisebut of Spain, by the emperor Heraclius, issued an edict, commanding all Jews to forswear their religion or leave the kingdom. But in the northern part of France this edict was so little enforced, that a Jew held the office of tax-collector in the city of St. Denis; in the south, where they were far more numerous and wealthy, they carried on their trade with uninterrupted success—and the wiser monarchs of that great kingdom altogether renounced the intolerant policy of the Merovingian race.

BOOK XXIII.

GOLDEN AGE OF JUDAISM.

The Jews under the Caliphs—Rise of Karaism—Kingdom of Khazars—Jews under the Byzantine Empire—Jews Breakers of Images—Jews of Italy—Jews under Charlemagne and Louis the Debonnaire—Agobard, Bishop of Lyons—Jews in Spain—High State of Literature—Moses Maimonides.

WE enter upon a period which we shall venture to denominate the Golden Age of the modern Jews. To them the Moslem crescent was as a star, which seemed to sooth to peace the troubled waters on which they had been so long agitated. Throughout the dominions of the caliphs, in the East, in Africa, and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who, under Divine Providence, restored vigour and solidity to the Christian empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mahometanism; every where we behold the Jews, not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendour and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and Mahometan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns. This golden age was of very different duration in different parts of the world; in the East it was before long interrupted by their own civil dissensions, and by a spirit of persecution which seized the Moslemite sovereigns. In the Byzantine empire, we are greatly in want of authentic information, both concerning the period in question, and that which followed it. In the west of Europe, it was soon succeeded by an age of iron. In Spain, the

daylight endured the longest—to set in deep and total darkness.

The religious persecutions of the Jews by the Mahometans were confined within the borders of Arabia. The prophet was content with enforcing uniformity of worship within the sacred peninsula which gave him birth, and where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were not to be profaned by the unclean footstep of an unbeliever; or rather his immediate successors rose, or degenerated, shall we say, from stern fanatics to ambitious conquerors. “The Koran or the sword” was still the battle cry; but whoever would submit to the dominion of the triumphant caliph, or render himself useful in the extension of his conquests, might easily evade the recognition of the Prophet’s title. The Jews had little reason to regret, or rather had ample cause to triumph, in the ruin of their former masters—though, doubtless, in the general plunder their wealth did not escape, yet here, as in the north, they would not scruple to make up their losses, by following in the train of the yet fierce and uncivilized conqueror, and, by making use of their superior judgment or command of money, to drive a lucrative bargain with the plunderer. Whenever a commissariat was wanting to the disorganized hordes, which followed the crescent with irresistible valour, the corn-ships or caravans of the Jews would follow in the wake of the fleet or army. At the capture of Rhodes, the celebrated fallen Colossus, which once bestrode the harbour of that city, one of the wonders of the world, was sold to a Jew of Emesa, who is reported to have loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. The greater and more certain emoluments of the mercantile life would lead the Jews to addict themselves more and more to traffic, and to abandon the cultivation of the soil, which they had hitherto pursued in many places—for as the Moslemite sovereigns levied a disproportioned tribute on the

believer and the unbeliever, the former paying only a tenth, the latter a fifth, or even a third, of the produce, the Jew would readily cede his land, which remunerated him so ill, for trade which offered at least the chance of rapid wealth.

When the caliphs began to delegate to others the sword of conquest or extermination, and to establish themselves in the splendid state of peaceful sovereigns, the Jews were equally useful in teaching these stern barbarians the arts and luxuries of civilized life. The Hebrew literature was admirably adapted to the kindred taste of the Arabians. The extravagant legends of the Talmud would harmonize with their bold poetical spirit; their picturesque apologetics were probably the form of instruction in which the Arab tribes had ever delighted to listen to moral wisdom; even the nicety of their verbal disputes would not be without charm to their masters, who soon began to pay attention to the polish of their own rich and copious language. Already in the time of Omar, the second caliph, and his successor Abdalmelech, a trust of great importance, the coinage, had been committed to the care of a Jew. Either shocked that faithful Moslemites should use money stamped with an image, or eager to assume that distinction of sovereignty, the uttering coin, the caliph instructed the Jew to substitute the emphatic sentence, "say there is one God, one." The traffic of the Jews would disseminate that coin which their art had enabled them to provide. The caliph readily acknowledged, as his vassal, the Prince of the Captivity, who maintained his state as representative of the Jewish community: probably through him the tribute was levied on his brethren. A singular story is told of Omar the Second, which illustrates the high degree of credit which the Jews were permitted to attain in the court of the caliphs. Omar, a secret follower of Ali, whose name was still cursed in the mosques, was anxious to reconcile his

people to the name of the Prophet's vicar upon earth. An innocent comedy was got up in his court, in which a Jew played a principal part. The Jew came boldly forward, while the throne was encircled by the splendid retinue of courtiers and people, and asked in marriage the daughter of the caliph. Omar calmly answered, "How can I give my daughter in marriage to a man of another faith?" "Did not Mahomet," rejoined the Jew, "give his daughter in marriage to Ali?" "That is another case," said the caliph, "for Ali was a Moslemite, and the Commander of the Faithful." "Why, then," rejoined the Jew, "if Ali was one of the faithful, do ye curse him in your mosques?" The caliph turned to the courtiers and said, "Answer ye the Jew!" Along silence followed, broken at length by the caliph, who arose, and declared the curse to be rejected as impious, and ordered these words to be substituted in the prayer:—"Forgive us, Lord, our sins, and forgive all who have the same faith with us." At a later period, A.C. 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews intrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians. Under this fostering government the schools flourished; those in Sura and Pumbeditha were crowded with hearers: the Gaonim, or the Illustrious, were at the height of their fame; they formed a sort of senate, and while the Prince of the Captivity maintained the sovereign executive power, they assumed the legislative. Their reign was for the most part undisturbed, though sometimes a rapacious caliph, or an overzealous iman, might make them feel that the sword of ~~an~~ ^{any} still hung over them, and that the fire of zealous Islamism was not yet burned out. Giafar the Great is reported to have framed an edict to force Jews and Christians to embrace Islamism. The long and unaccustomed interval of peace, and the free intercourse with their enlightened masters introduced a spirit of bold inquiry, which threatened,

even at this zenith of its power, to shake the dominion of the Rabbins to its basis. The Karaites, the Protestants of Judaism, who perhaps had never entirely been extinct, began to grow again into a formidable sect. The older Karaites (it is quite uncertain when they assumed the name) probably fell into disrepute through the abuse of their doctrines by the unpopular Sadducees. After the fall of Jerusalem, Pharisaism,—under its more regular and organized form, Rabbinism,—obscured her once dangerous rival; the Sadducean doctrine was probably too loosely rooted in the heart to withstand the hour of trial; the present world presented such a scene of interminable dreariness to those who denied a world to come, that we cannot wonder if their creed refused to support them, when the first obstinacy of resistance had worn away. The Sadducees dwindled into an unnoticed sect; and, though the worst part of their doctrines might retain a secret hold on the hearts of the unprincipled, it could no longer balance the prevailing power of Pharisaism, which was the main support both of the spiritual and temporal throne—the sole acknowledged doctrine of the national universities. Karaism was revived in its purer form, rejecting entirely the authority of tradition, and resting its whole faith on the letter of the written Law; the Cabala, the Mischna, the Gemara—all Talmudic lore—the Karaites threw indignantly aside. The Luther of this reformation, which perhaps was not less rapidly diffused for its similarity to the simpler creed of Islamism, was named Anan, who, with his son Saul, revolted from Rabbinism. What is known concerning the lives of these men, rests chiefly on the authority of the Rabbins, and must be received with the same mistrust as the accounts of our own Reformers from the writings of their adversaries. In a contest for the succession to the Princehood of the Captivity, or to some other high office, Anan was

passed by, and his younger brother appointed. Imbittered by the affront, Anan assembled the wreck of the Sadducean party, so called probably by contempt, and persuaded them to name him to the dignity. Tumults arose—the government interfered—and Anan was thrown into prison. Anan recovered his freedom, some say by a large sum of money, which his followers gladly paid—as he gave out that he had been visited in a dream by the prophet Elias, who encouraged him in his adherence to the pure law of Moses—but his success was chiefly owing to an artifice suggested by an Arabian philosopher, whom he met with in the prison. He demanded of the vizier a public disputation with his adversaries, and represented the only cause of their differences to be a dispute about the period of the new moon. The caliph was a dabbler in astronomy; and Anan, by dexterously adopting his opinion, obtained a triumph. The Karaites retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, to maintain in peace their simple creed—in their adherence to which, the sight of the Holy City might confirm them; and that thus a pure and righteous people might be ready to hail the accomplishment of its last article. The following were, and still are, the articles of the Karaite belief:—I. That the world was created: II. That it had an uncreated Creator: III. That God is without form, and in every sense one: IV. That God sent Moses: V. That God delivered the Law to Moses: VI. That the believer must deduce his creed from the knowledge of the Law in its original language, and from the pure interpretation of it: VII. That God inspired the rest of the prophets: VIII. That God will raise the dead: IX. That God will reward and punish all men before his throne: X. That God has not rejected his unhappy people, but is purifying them by affliction, and that they must daily strive to render themselves worthy of redemption through the Mes-

siah, the son of David. The Karaites formed a regular community, under their Nasi, which name afterward gave place to that of Hachem; they have since spread into many countries, where they are hated and denounced as heretics by the Rabbins.

If their own writers deserve credit, at a period not very distant from this, the Jews in the East attained to a still greater height of power and splendour. Judaism ascended the throne of a great kingdom on the west of the Caspian sea—a kingdom before the strength of which the Persian monarchy trembled, and endeavoured to exclude its iuroads by building a vast wall, the remains of which still excite the wonder of the traveller—while the Greek empire courted its alliance. The name of this realm was Khazar, or Khozar;* it was inhabited by a Turcoman tribe, who had gradually abandoned their nomadic habits and maintained considerable commerce: their capital, Bilangiar, was situated at the mouth of the Wolga, and a line of cities stretched across from thence to the Don. They exchanged dried fish, the furs of the north, and slaves, for the gold and silver, and the luxuries of southern climates. Merchants of all religions, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, were freely admitted, and their superior intelligence over his more barbarous subjects induced one of their kings, Bulan, (A. C. 740,) to embrace the religion of the strangers. By one account, he was admonished by an angel; by another, he decided in this singular manner between the conflicting claims of Christianity, Moslemism, and Judaism. He examined the different teachers apart, and asked the Christian if Judaism was not better than Mahometanism—the Mahometan whether it was not better than Christianity. Both replied in the affirmative; on which the monarch decided in

* Basnage discredited the whole story, as he could not trace the existence of such a kingdom; but Des Guignes, and the more recent accounts of the Russian empire, have satisfactorily proved that point.

its favour,—by one statement secretly, by another openly, embraced the faith of Moses, and induced learned teachers of the Law to settle in his dominions. Judaism became a necessary condition on the succession to the throne; but there was the most liberal toleration of all other forms of faith. The dynasty lasted for above two centuries and a half; and when R. Hasdai, a learned Jew, was in the highest confidence with Abderrahman, the caliph of Cordova, he received intelligence of this sovereignty possessed by his brethren, through the ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor. After considerable difficulty, Hasdai succeeded in establishing a correspondence with Joseph, the reigning king. The letter of Hasdai is extant, and an answer of the king, which does not possess equal claims to authenticity. The whole history has been wrought out into a religious romance called Cosri, which has involved the question in great obscurity: Basnage rejected the whole as a fiction of the Rabbins—anxious to prove that “the sceptre had not entirely departed from Israel:” Jost inclines to the opinion that there is a groundwork of truth under the veil of poetic embellishment.

We travel westward, not, as usually, to sadden our eyes and chill our hearts with tales of persecution and misery, but to behold the Jews the companions and confidential ministers of princes. We pause to glean the slight and barren information which we possess of the state of the Jews in the Byzantine empire. The writers of the opposite party accuse the Jews as instigators and abettors of the iconoclastic emperors (the destroyers of images); and a fable, equally irreconcilable with chronology and history, has been repeated of their zeal in this, by some called sacrilegious warfare. It is said, that they instigated the caliph Yezid the Second to order the demolition of images in his dominions. The outraged saints were revenged by

the untimely death of Yezid, attributed to their prayers. The successor of Yezid acknowledged, it is added, his father's impiety, and determined to wreak vengeance on his advisers. They fled; but two of them, resting near a fountain in Isauria, beheld a youth driving an ass, laden with petty merchandise. They looked on him with fixed eyes, saluted him as the future emperor, but at the same time they strongly urged his compliance with the second commandment of the Law. Unfortunateiy, among the few facts which are known of the period is this, that Leo the Isaurian, in the early part of his reign, persecuted the Jews. It is highly probable, that when the emperors gave the signal for havoc, the Jews, stimulated by covetousness, as well as religious zeal, would not be the last to strip or break in pieces, or melt, the costly ornaments, and even the images themselves, made of the precious metals. We may conceive the religious horror which the devout image-worshipper would feel, when the unclean hands of the circumcised either seized, or bought from authorized plunderers, the object of his profound adoration, and converted it, like any other object of traffic, to profane uses. But, inured to odium, the Jew would little fear to encounter it, for the gratification at once of his revenge and his avarice. We know little further of their state, but that they were under the avowed protection of some of the succeeding emperors. Constantine Copronymus, probably on account of his hatred of images, was called a Jew; and Nicephorus and Michael the Stammerer are named, as extending their paternal care over this usually proscribed race.

In Italy we know little of the condition of the Israelites; but the silence of history concurs with the single fact, with which we are acquainted, to represent those days as days of peace. The Pope Zacharias found it necessary to interdict not only the old grievance, the possession of Christian slaves

by Jews, but also unlawful sexual intercourse and marriage between the two races.

Whatever guilt, either of secret perfidy* or prayer for the success of the invader, might attach to the Jewish inhabitant of the south of France, during the invasion of that country by the Moors of Spain; when the barrier of the Pyrenees was established by the valour of Charles Martel, and by the ability or the new race of sovereigns who succeeded to the feeble Merovingians, Pepin and Charlemagne: these monarchs not merely refrained from all retribution, but displayed the more enlightened policy of conciliation towards their wealthy and useful subjects. The Jews were only restricted in the possession of Christian slaves, subjected to the general marriage law of the empire, commanded to observe the prohibited degrees, and to conform to the general law of dower. The offender was liable to a fine of 100 sons, and to suffer 100 stripes. Their commerce was unrestricted, except by a limitation enforced on Charlemagne, rather by the irreverent covetousness of the clergy, than by the misconduct of the Jews. Bishops, abbots, and abbesses were only prevented by a severe inhibition, from pledging or selling to the circumcised the costly vestments, rich furniture, and precious vessels of the churches. To the flourishing commerce of the Israelites, the extended dominions of Charlemagne opened a wide field; from the ports of Marseilles and Narbonne their vessels kept up a constant communication with the East; in Narbonne they were so flourishing that, of the two prefects or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew; and, as we shall presently see, the most regular and stately part of

* They are accused of betraying Toulouse to the enemy; but the siege of that city by the Moors appears altogether apocryphal. The singular custom which, without doubt, existed for a considerable period in Toulouse, by which a syndic or representative of the Jews was constrained to appear before the authorities and receive three boxes on the ear, originated no doubt in some other unknown cause.

the city of Lyons was the Jewish quarter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust. They were the physicians, the ministers of finance, to nobles and monarchs; and when Charlemagne, either with some secret political design, or from an ostentatious show of magnificence, determined on sending an ambassador to the splendid caliph Haroun al Raschid, Europe and Asia beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Jew, named Isaac, setting forth on this mission, with two Christian counts, who died on the road, and conducting the political correspondence between the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Bagdad. It cannot be wondered if this embassy gave rise to the wildest speculations in that ignorant age, both as to its objects and its event. It was given out that the caliph granted Judea as a free gift to Charlemagne; others limit his generosity to Jerusalem, others to the key of the Holy Sepulchre. The secret objects probably never transpired beyond the councils of Charlemagne; but it was known that Isaac returned with presents of a wonderful nature from the East. Among these was an enormous elephant, of such importance that his death is faithfully chronicled by the monkish annalists; apes, a clock, and some rich robes, doubtless of silk. Isaac acquitted himself with such ability, that he was intrusted by his imperial protector with another mission to the same quarter.

The golden age of the Jews endured, in still increasing prosperity, during the reign of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Debonnaire, or the Pious. At his court the Jews were so powerful, that their interest was courted by the presents of nobles and princes. His most confidential adviser was a Jewish physician, named Zedekiah. The wondering people attributed his influence over the

emperor to magic, in which he was considered a profound adept. The monkish historians relate, with awe-struck sincerity, tales of his swallowing a whole cart of hay, horses and all, and flying in the air, like Simon Magus of old. A sort of representative of the community, the Master of the Jews, resided within the precincts of the court. The general privileges of the race were preserved with rigid equity. They were permitted to build synagogues; their appeals were listened to with equal—their enemies said, with partial—justice; they had free power to traffic, and to dispose of real or personal property. They had even interest to procure the alteration of certain markets which were customarily held on their Sabbath, to another day. Besides this general protection, several charters are extant, granting special privileges to certain Jewish communities and individuals. One to the Jews of Languedoc, securing to them the right of disposing of hereditaments, such as land, houses, mills, water-courses, &c.; another, to a certain Domat Rabbi and his brother Samuel, granting them exemption from various tolls and taxes—permission to hire Christian slaves, who were however not to be forced to work on Sundays and holidays—and generally to deal in slaves. Every litigation with a Christian was to be settled by the evidence of three Jews and three Christians. It forbade all persons to encourage their Christian slaves in disobedience. It took the persons of the above named under imperial protection. Their death was to be punished at the price of ten pounds of gold. They were not to be submitted to the ordeal of fire or water, nor scourged—but allowed in every respect the free observance of their Law.

Agobard, bishop of Lyons, beheld with jealous indignation this alien people occupying the fairest part of his city, displaying openly their enviable opulence;—their vessels crowded the ports—their

bales encumbered the quays—their slaves thronged the streets. In a Christian city, the Church seemed to veil its head before the synagogue. He endeavoured, by the exercise of his episcopal authority, to prevent that approximation of the two races which seemed rapidly advancing. He forbade his flock, among other things, to sell Christian slaves to the Jews—to labour for the Jews on Sundays—to eat with them during Lent—to buy the flesh of animals slain by them—or to drink their wine. The Jews considered these laws an infringement of their rights; they appealed to their royal protector for redress. A commission of inquiry was issued; the bishop was commanded to withdraw his obnoxious edicts. Agobard was at Nantes. He declared himself ready to submit to the royal decree, but proceeded to offer a petition to the king against his adversaries. He accused them (a strange charge!) with selling unwholesome meat, which, he said, they called Christian's meat, and spoiled wine, to the Christians. He accused them of cursing the Christians in their synagogues. He accused them of the insufferable pride with which they boasted of the royal favour. He complained of the bad effects produced by the concession of the change of the market day, and that the Jewish had many more hearers than the Christian preachers. He added the more weighty charge, that the Jews frequently stole Christian children to sell them as slaves. This petition was followed by a long theological argument, to prove the wisdom and justice of persecuting the Jews. He pressed St. Paul into his service. He cited, with as little justice, the example of many of the most illustrious bishops—Hilary and Apollinaris. He entered into long details of the absurdities taught by the Rabbins (among the rest he charged them with holding the eternity of the letters of the alphabet,) and of the blasphemies which they uttered concerning Christ.

It was all in vain: the court turned a deaf ear to his complaints, and the bishop set off for Paris, to try the influence of his personal weight and character before his sovereign. He was received with cold civility—constrained to wait in an antichamber while the counsellors of state laid his appeal before the king, and then received permission to retire to his diocese. He wrote another despatch, bitterly inveighing against the influence and conduct of the Grand Master of the Jews. But his sorrows were poured forth more fully into the confidential bosom of Nebridius, bishop of Narbonne, whom he called upon to co-operate with him in separating the Christians from a people who, he says, “are clothed with cursing as with a garment. The curse penetrates into their bones, their marrow, and their entrails, as water and oil flow through the human body. They are accursed in the city and the country, at the beginning and ending of their lives. Their flocks, their meat, their granaries, their cellars, their magazines, are accursed.” His denunciations were as unavailing as his petitions, while an instance is related of an officer of the palace joining the synagogue. The bishop was constrained to complain once more of the violence offered to a Jewess, who had embraced Christianity.

In the reign of Charles the Bald, the Jews maintained their high estate, but dark signs of the approaching age of iron began to lower around. The active hostility of the clergy was no longer checked by the stern protection of the royal authority. In Lyons many converts were made, by whose agency so many children were seduced from their parents, that the Jews were obliged to send their offspring for education to the less zealous cities of Vienne, Macon, and Arles. Remigius, the bishop of Lyons, announced his triumph to the king, and desired that the bishop of Arles might be admonished to follow the example of his zeal. The councils began again

to launch their thunders ; that of Meaux re-enacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices. This decree was followed up by that of Paris. But in the distracted state into which the kingdom soon fell, probably these ordinances were not executed. If it be true that Charles the Bald was poisoned by the famous Jewish physician of his father, Zedekiah, an act which so weakened the royal authority, was a measure most pernicious to his countrymen—who, instead of being under the protection of a powerful monarch, fell rapidly under the dominion of those countless petty independent sovereigns who rose under the feudal system, whose will was law, and whose wants would not submit to the slow process of exaction and tribute, but preferred the raising more expeditious supplies by plunder and massacre.

It was in Spain that the golden age of the Jews shone with the brightest and most enduring splendour. Yet during its earlier period, from the conquest by the Moors till towards the end of the tenth century, when, while Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mahometan Cordova might be considered the centre of civilization, of arts, and of letters, though we are certain that the Jews, under the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, rivalled their masters, or rather their compatriots, in their advancement to wealth, splendour, and cultivation : though they had their full share, or, perhaps, as more intelligent, a disproportionate share in the high ministerial and confidential offices of the court ; though by the perpetual intercourse kept up with their brethren in the East, we may safely infer that by land along the north of Africa, and by sea along the course of the Mediterranean, their commerce was pursued with industry and success ; yet we have not much distinct information concerning their state and proceedings. In fact, it is difficult to discriminate them from the race among whom they lived on terms of the closest amity during these 'talecyon days.' In emulation of

their Moslemite brethren, they began to cultivate their long disused and neglected poetry; the harp of Judah was heard to sound again, though with something of a foreign tone—for they borrowed the rhythm peculiar to the Arabic verse. Yet, though but a feeble echo of their better days, we would gladly explore this almost hidden source of Jewish poetry. There too Rabbinism, while its throne was tottering to decay in the East, found a refuge, and commenced a new era of power and authority. The Talmud was translated into Arabic, under the auspices of Moses “clad in sackcloth,” one of the most learned men of the East, whom a singular adventure cast upon the hospitable shore of Spain, and through whom the light of learning, which, by the rapid progress of the iron age of Judaism in Babylonia, by the extinction of the authority of the Prince of the Captivity, the dispersion of the illustrious teachers, and the final closing of the great schools, seemed to have set for ever, suddenly rose again in the West in renewed and undiminished splendour. Three Babylonian Rabbins of great distinction, of whom R. Moses was one, fell into the hands of a Spanish pirate. The wife of Moses accompanied him in his voyage—the high-minded woman, dreading defilement, looked to her husband for advice; Moses uttered the verse of the Psalm—“The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring again from the depths of the sea.” She plunged at once into the ocean and perished. Moses was brought as a slave to Cordova, and redeemed, though his quality was unknown, by a Jew. One day he entered the synagogue clad in a scanty sack-cloth—Nathan, the judge of the Jews in Cordova, presided. In the course of the debate the slave displayed such knowledge, that Nathan exclaimed, “I am no more judge—you slave in sackcloth is my master, and I his scholar.” Moses was installed by acclamation as head of the community. Moses and

his son and successor, Enoch, enjoyed the protection of Hasdai, the son of Isaac, the minister of the caliph; and though the learned pre-eminence of this family was disturbed by the rivalry of R. Joseph, to whom the task of translating the Talmud had been committed, yet such was the popularity of his grandson, Nathan, and such the wealth of his compatriots, that as often as the head of the Jewish community went forth to enjoy the delicious refreshment of the groves and gardens near Cordova, he was attended by his admiring disciples in immense numbers, and in most sumptuous apparel—it is said that 700 chariots swelled his pomp.

The long line of learned descendants, which formed the great school of Arabico-Jewish learning, belongs to the history of their literature, for which our work has no space. This line stretched away to the end of the twelfth century, when it produced its greatest ornament—the wise Maimonides, the first who, instead of gazing with blind adoration and unintelligent wonder at the great fabric of the Mosaic Law, dared to survey it with the searching eye of reason, and was rewarded by discovering the indelible marks of the divine wisdom and goodness. Maimonides was beyond his age and country; he retreated to the court of the sultan of Egypt in Cairo, where he lived in the highest estimation as the royal physician; he was anathematized by the more superstitious of his brethren, but in later ages, the more enlightened the race of Israel, the higher has stood the fame of him whom his ardent admirers proclaimed a second Moses.

We revert to a sadder spectacle—the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the East and in the West, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem, indefeasible inheritance of hatred and contempt: they had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unre-

lenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to regain wealth that might be plundered, and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy as extensive to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Kingdom after kingdom, and people after people, followed the dreadful example, and strove to peal the knell of this devoted race; till at length, what we blush to call Christianity, with the Inquisition in its train, cleared the fair and smiling provinces of Spain of this industrious part of its population, and self-inflicted a curse of barrenness upon the benighted land.

BOOK XXIV.

IRON AGE OF JUDAISM.

Persecutions in the East—Extinction of the Princes of the Captivity—Jews in Palestine—In the Byzantine Empire—Feudal System—Chivalry—Power of the Church—Usury—Persecutions in Spain—Massacres by the Crusaders—Persecutions in France—Philip Augustus—Saint Louis—Spain—France—Philip the Fair—War of the Shepherds—Pestilence—Poisoning of the Fountains—Charles the Fourth—Charles the Fifth—Charles the Sixth—Final expulsion from France—Germany—The Flagellants—Miracle of the Host at Brussels

OUR Iron Age commences in the East, where it witnessed the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity, by the ignominious death of the last sovereign, the downfall of the schools, and the dispersion of the community, who from that period remained an abject and degraded part of the population.—Pride and civil dissension, as well as the tyranny of a feeble despot, led to their fall. About the middle of the ninth century, both the Jews and Christians suffered some persecution under the sultan Motavakel, A. C. 847. An edict was issued prohibiting their riding on lordly horses, they were to aspire no higher than humble asses and mules; they were forbidden to have an iron stirrup, and commanded to wear a leather girdle. They were to be distinguished from the faithful by a brand-mark, and their houses were defaced by figures of swine, devils, or apes: the latter addition throws some improbability on the story. About this time, Saccai was Prince of the Captivity; towards the middle of the tenth century (934), David Ben Saccai held that high office. It has been conjectured that the interval was filled by a line of hereditary princes. The learned aristocracy, the Heads of the Schools, seem likewise to have been hereditary. The race of that

of Sura expired, and the Resch-Glutha, David Ben Saccai, took upon himself to name an obscure successor called Om. Tob. His incompetency became apparent, and R. Saadiah was summoned from Egypt. Saadiah was a great opponent of the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, a received article of the Jewish creed. Perpetual feuds distracted this singular state. The tribunals of the Resch-Glutha, and the Masters of the School, the civil and spiritual powers, were in perpetual collision. David, the prince, laid his ban on Saadiah; Saadiah hurled back the ban upon the prince, and transferred the sovereignty to his brother. For seven years this strife lasted; till at length peace was restored, and the whole community beheld, with the utmost satisfaction, the Prince of the Captivity, who, on the death of his brother, regained his uncontested authority, entering the house of the Master of the School to celebrate together the joyful feast of Purim. The peace remained unbroken till the death of the Prince of the Captivity and that of his son. Saadiah became the guardian of his grandson. Saadiah was a man noted for the strictest justice, and his literary works were esteemed of the highest value. Both the great dignities seem to have been united in the person of Scherira, who ruled and taught with universal admiration in the school of Pherutz Schabur. At the end of thirty years, Scherira felt the approach of age, and associated his son Hai in the supremacy. But the term of this high office drew near. A violent and rapacious sovereign filled the throne of the caliphs.-- He cast a jealous look upon the powers and wealth of this vassal sovereign. Sherira, now 100 years old, and his son Hai, were seized, either with or without pretext, their riches confiscated, and the old man hung up by the hand. Hai escaped to resume his office, and to transmit its honours and its dangers to Hezekiah, who was elected Chief of the

Captivity. But after a reign of two years, Hezekiah was arrested with his whole family by the order of the caliph. The schools were closed—many of the learned fled to Egypt or Spain, all were dispersed; among the rest two sons of the unfortunate Prince of the Captivity effected their escape to Spain, while the last of the house of David, (for of that lineage they fondly boasted,) who reigned over the Jews of the dispersion in Babylonia, perished on an ignominious scaffold.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. If credit is to be given to any of the facts in that extravagant compilation, the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, which bears the date of the following century, from A. C. 1160 to 1173,* we may safely select his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land. There is an air of sad truth about the statement, which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on others. In Tyre, Benjamin is said to have found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem, but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but 50. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later Crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps, be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions. It is curious, after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings :

* The object of this author seems to have been not unlike that of the celebrated Sir John Mandeville, to throw together all he had ever heard or read of the strange and unvisited regions of the East.

still it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust. "The air of the land of Israel," says one, "makes a man wise;" another writes, "he who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life that is to come." "The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to embrace its ruins, and roll themselves in its dust." "The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel." He who is buried there is reconciled with God as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan come first to life in the days of the Messiah. He who dies out of the Holy Land dies a double death.—Rabbi Simeon said, "all they who are buried out of the land of Canaan must perish everlasting; but for the just, God will make deep caverns beneath the earth, by which they will work their way till they come to the land of Israel; when they are there, God will breathe the breath of life into their nostrils, and they will rise again."

In the Byzantine empire, if we may place any reliance on the same doubtful authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained 300 Jews; Thebes 2000 silk-workers and dyers. Two hundred cultivated gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number. Constantinople, 2000 silk-workers and merchants, with 500 Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We pursue our dark progress to the West, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity against the race of Israel.—Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice; the nobility

by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry; the clergy by bigotry; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes which were gradually taking place in the state of society, seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds; confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness, if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind; the despised will usually become despicable. We proceed in a few brief sentences (all our limits will allow) to explain the effects of the more remarkable changes in society, which developed themselves during these dark ages, as far as they affect the character and condition of the Jewish people. 1st. The feudal system. 2d. Chivalry. 3d. The power of the clergy. 4th. The almost general adoption of the trade of money-lending and usury by the Jews themselves: and then pursue the course of time which will lead us successively to the different countries in which the Jews were domiciliated. I. In that singular structure, the feudal system, which rose like a pyramid from the villains or slaves attached to the soil to the monarch who crowned the edifice, the Jews alone found no proper place.—They were a sort of out-lying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming part of it; recognised by the constitution, but not belonging to it: a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity. Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain and the south of France, were in some respects under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognised, freedom

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of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from all military service. The last was a privilege not likely to be extorted from them. The noble profession of arms would have been profaned by such votaries.

The whole Jewish community were considered as special servants of the imperial chamber, *i. e.* the emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice or make appeal to their liege lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognised by the great vassals, as allowing the emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner to interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were persuaded by the Jews themselves, to accept dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of free burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to protect them from the violence of the populace. In Italy, at least in the south, besides the doubtful protection of the emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner

under the special jurisdiction of the see of Rome. In the south of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the north, of the king. For while the edicts of the sovereign for their expulsion and readmission into the land were recognised in the north, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the south. The general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil, though it worked more slowly in some countries—in the south of France and Spain—than in others. They could not be lords, they were not serfs—they would not serve, or by the older law were exempted from military service to their lords. But this almost extra-legal protection under the great vassals was of course subject to every caprice of the lawless and ignorant petty chieftains who exercised these local sovereignties. It was obtained only by proving to the liege lord, that it was his interest to protect; and his eyes, blinded by ignorance and perhaps bigotry, could only be opened to his real interests by immediate and palpable advantages. The Jew must pay largely for precarious protection: he was only tolerated as a source of revenue, and till almost his life-blood was drawn, it would be difficult to satisfy the inevitable demands of a needy and rapacious master.

II. Chivalry, the parent of so much good and evil, both in its own age and in the spirit which has descended from it and become infused into the institutions and character of modern Europe, was a sonree of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as the splendour which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. The enterprising Jew often probably made a considerable commission on the Milan corslet, the Damascus or Toledo blade, the gorgeous attire which the knight wore, or the

jewels in which his lady glittered in the tournament.* Magnificence was the fashion of the times, and magnificence would often throw the impoverished noble into the power of the lowly man of traffic. But the knight was bound by the tenure of his rank to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry. When Clovis, the king of the Franks, embraced Christianity, while the pious preacher was dilating on the sufferings of the crucified Redeemer, the fiery convert sprang up and exclaimed, "Had I and my brave Franks been there, they dared not to have done it." The spirit of this speech was that of the knighthood of the middle ages. What they could not prevent they could revenge. The knight was the servant of God, bound with his good sword to protect his honour, and to extirpate all the enemies of Christ and his Virgin Mother. Those enemies were all unbelievers, more particularly the Jew, whose stiff-necked obstinacy still condemned him; he was as deadly a foe as if he had joined in the frantic cry of *Crucify him, crucify him.* The only refuge of the Jew from the hatred of the knight was in his contempt; he was not suffered to profane his sword with such vile blood; it was loftier revenge to trample him under foot. But the animosity without the pride of this chivalrous feeling descended to the lower orders; he who could not presume to show his zeal for his Redeemer on the person of a Moslemite unbeliever, contented himself with the humbler satisfaction of persecuting a Jew. In awful disregard of the one great Atonement, it was a prevailing feeling that men might wash away their sins by the blood of their infidel fellow-creatures. We shall see this inhuman sentiment dreadfully exemplified in the history of the Crusaders.

* This has not escaped the author of that noblest of historical romances, Ivanhoe, who on this point is as true to history as in the rest of the work he is full of the loftiest spirit of poetry.

III. The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this general detestation against the unhappy Jew : their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. In that age of darkness, hatred of heresy and unbelief was the first article in the creed of him who taught the religion of love. But it is remarkable, that not only were there splendid and redeeming instances of superiority to this unchristian spirit (they will hereafter be noticed), but it was only in the dark and remote parts of the Christian world that this total gloom prevailed. Light still shone in the centre : of all European sovereigns, the Popes, with some exceptions, have pursued the most humane policy towards the Jews. In Italy, and even in Rome, they have been more rarely molested than in other countries. They have long inhabited in Rome a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt—a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society. The adversaries of the Roman Church may ascribe this to “the wisdom of the serpent,” which discovered the advantages to be derived from the industry of the Jews, rather than to “the gentleness of the dove ;” but where humanity is the result, let us not too invidiously explore its motives. Since the reign of Innocent the Second (1130), at the accession of the Pope, the Jews have been permitted to approach the presence of the pontiff, and to offer a copy of their Law. The pontiff receives their homage, and mildly expresses his desire that their understandings may be enlightened to perceive the hidden meaning of their own sacred volume. In the remote provinces it is to be feared that religious animosity was often aggravated by that hatred which unprincipled men feel towards those who possess the secret of their crimes. The sacred property of the Church was still often pawned by the licentious monks or

clergy : no one would dare to receive the sacred pledge but a Jew, who thus frequently became odious, not only as an importunate creditor, but ~~as~~ exposing, by clamorous and public demands of payment, transactions never meant to meet the light.

IV. But avarice and usurious practices were doubtless charged, not without justice, against the race of Israel. In the nation and the individual, the pursuit of gain, as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally. All the circumstances of the time contributed to this debasing change. The more extended branches of commerce were almost entirely cut off. Their brethren in the East had lost their wealth ; the navigation of the Mediterranean was interrupted by the Norman pirates ; the slave trade had entirely ceased or was prohibited, as well by the habits of the time as by law. In the cities and free towns they were excluded by the jealous corporate spirit from all share in their privileges. The spirit of the age despised traffic, and the merchant is honourable only where he is held in honour. The Jews no doubt possessed great wealth ; what was extorted from them is ample proof of the fact, and some of them by stealth enjoyed it ; but even the wealthiest and most liberal were often obliged to put on the sordid demeanour, and affect the miserable poverty of the poor pedler of their own nation, whose whole stock consisted in his pack of the cheapest portable articles.

This necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. Their chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivalled and driven out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness

or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own Law, and all the scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church, as unlawful, contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure. He argued, not unfairly, that the more precarious, the greater ought to be his gains; he took refuge in fraud from violence and injustice. Society was at war with the Jew; some sudden demand of tribute, or some lawless plunderer, would sweep away at once the hard-wrung earnings of years; the Jew, therefore, still practised slow and perpetual reprisals, and reimbursed himself from the wants of the needy, for his losses from the violent. Demolish his secret hive, like the ant, the model suggested by his wise king, he would reconstruct it again, and ever at the expense of his enemy. It was, generally throughout the world, the Christian, who, according to our universal Master of nature, would spit upon and spurn the Jew; and the Jew, who, when he found his advantage, would have the pound of flesh nearest the heart of his bondsman. It was a contest of religious zeal which had degenerated into the blindest bigotry, and associated itself with the most ferocious and unchristian passions, against industry and patience, which had made a forced but intimate alliance with the most sordid craft and the most unfeeling avarice, to the utter extinction of every lofty principle of integrity and honour.

It is time to proceed to our melancholy task, the rapid picture of the iron age of Judaism in the West. The first dark scene of our tragic drama is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Grenada. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The

nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem; R. Samuel Levi, was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, when one of the Wise Men Joseph Hallevi, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and 1500 families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendour, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sunk into disgrace and destitution.

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honour, the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander the Second, who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity. The sterner Hildebrand assumed a different tone; he rebuked Alfonso the Sixth for having made laws restoring to the Jews certain rights, submitting, as the pontiff declared, the Church to the synagogue or devils.

Of all people the zealous Jews must have beheld with the greatest amazement the preparations for the Crusades, when the whole Christian world, from the king to the peasant, was suddenly seized with a resolution to conquer the Holy Land of *their* fathers, in order that they might be masters of the sepulchre of the crucified Nazarene. But the times must have opened a most extensive field for traffic and usury; and no doubt the Jews, suppressing their astonishment, did not scruple to avail themselves of such a golden opportunity of gain. Nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross. If

the more prudent or less zealous monarchs, like our William the Second, or nobles, or churchmen, profited by the reckless ardour of their compatriots to appropriate, at the lowest prices, their fair fields and goodly inheritances, no doubt the Jews wrung no unprofitable bargains from the lower class of more needy and as reckless adventurers. Arms and money must be had; and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms. But little did this prudent people foresee the storm which impended over them. The nation was widely dispersed in Germany; some statutes of king Ladislaus show their existence in Hungary; in Bohemia they had rendered good service, and lived on amicable terms with the Christians; in Franconia they were numerous; but their chief numbers and wealth were found in the flourishing cities along the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine. When the first immense horde of undisciplined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Pennyless, and the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp, that while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord. With one impulse the Crusaders rushed to the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usages of these savages women, having deliberately tied stones round themselves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge to save their honour and escape baptism. The rest fled to the citadel as a place of refuge. They were received by the bishop with these words: "Wretches, your sins have come upon you; ye who have blasphemed the Son of God and calumniated his Mother. This is the cause of your present miseries—this, if

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ye persist in your obduracy, will destroy you body and soul for ever." He reproached them with their disregard of Daniel's prophecy of our Lord's coming, and promised protection to their persons, and respect to their property, on their conversion and baptism. Micha, the head of the Jews, mildly requested instruction in the Christian tenets; the bishop repeated a short creed; the Jews, in the agony of terror, assented. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Metz, in Cologne, in Mentz, in Worms, in Spire. In Cologne two hundred were dragged from the river into which they had thrown themselves, and hewn in pieces. In Worms they took refuge in the bishop's palace, but it was besieged; and to escape worse horrors they slew each other. In Spire they were more successful: they offered a large sum for the bishop's protection—the appeal was irresistible. The locust band passed on; every where the tracks of the Crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood. A troop, under count Emico, offered the same horrid sacrifices to the God of Mercy, in the cities on the Maine and the Danube, even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence. How little horror these massacres excited, may be judged from the coolness with which they are related by the faithful representatives of the spirit of the times, the monkish historians. The emperor Henry the Fourth alone saw their atrocity; in an edict issued from Ratisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptized by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period many took refuge in Silesia and Poland.

Half a century elapsed for the Jews to multiply again their devoted race, and to heap up new treasures to undergo their inalienable doom of pillage and massacre. A second storm was seen gathering in the distance; and like a bird of evil omen, which predicts the tempest, the monk Rodolph passed

through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking vengeance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of *Hec*, the signal for the massacre of the Jews, supposed to be an abbreviation of "Hierosolyma est perdita—Jerusalem is lost,"—ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, and Strasburg. They found an unexpected protector, the holy St. Bernard, who openly reprobated these barbarities, and in a letter to the bishop of Spire, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part, and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers, was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

These atrocities, however (and we cannot lament our want of space, which prevents us from entering more at large into such and similar crimes), were the acts of a fanatic mob in the highest state of religious intoxication. We must now behold a mighty sovereign and his barons uniting in deeds, if less sanguinary, not less unjust. Both in the north and south of France, the Jews were numerous and wealthy. In the south they were the most flourishing, they were more mingled with the people, were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property, and were sometimes called to manage the finances of the great feudatories. In the north, though, as in Paris, often obliged to inhabit a separate part of the city, they were spread through the whole country, and had not entirely given up their literary pursuits; their academy at Troyes had produced some of their most eminent writers. But public detestation lowered upon them with a threatening aspect.

Stories were propagated, and found an easy belief among ignorant and prejudiced minds, of the most blasphemous and sanguinary crimes perpetrated by the Jews. A renegade monk accused them of intelligence with the infidel sovereigns of Palestine. It was generally believed that they often decoyed Christian children into their houses, and crucified them alive ; that, by bribery or theft, they would obtain possession of the consecrated Host, and submit it to every kind of insult. Yet both king and nobles felt that to this odious race they stood in the humiliating relation of debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the Crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government, made it necessary to raise money on any terms. Their only alternative lay between the Jews and the few Lombard money-lenders, whom St. Bernard seems to mean, when he denounces certain Christians as more extortionate usurers than the Jews. Thus the Jews had a hold upon almost all the estates of the country ; they had mortgages on half Paris, and scarcely any one but had some articles in pawn : even the clergy, whose pleasures were not without expense, had committed vessels, reliquaries, even reliques, to the profane hands of these relentless extortioners, who probably scrupled little to wring the greatest profit from the general distress. The Jews stood to the rest of society something in the relation of the patricians in early Rome and in Athens to the impoverished commonalty, but without their power. Such was the state of affairs on the accession of the ambitious Philip Augustus. During his youth, it is said that a Jew (whether, as is often the case, the frequent mention of a crime had excited some man of disordered imagination to perpetrate it) had crucified a youth named Richard, at Pontoise ; the body was brought to Paris, and wrought many miracles. No sooner had Philip ascended the throne, than he took a short way to relieve his burthened subjects, by an

edict, which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands. Among the effects, a golden crucifix and a Gospel, adorned with precious stones, were found. The Jews were peacefully assembled in their synagogues on the Sabbath (February 14), when suddenly all these buildings were surrounded by the royal troops, the Jews dragged to prison, while the officers took possession of their houses. A new edict followed (April), which confiscated all their immoveable goods, and commanded them instantly to sell their moveables and to depart from the kingdom. In vain they appealed to the nobles and to the ministers of the Gospel; holy bishops as well as fierce barons closed their ears against the supplications of unfortunate creditors and obstinate unbelievers. Obliged to part with their effects at the lowest prices, the Jews sadly departed, amid the execrations of the people, and bearing away little but their destitute wives and children, from the scenes of their birth and infancy. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains; in the south of France the great vassals paid less respect to the royal edict, and the Jews were still found in those provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

But, strange as it might appear to them, the nation was neither more wealthy nor the public burthen less grievous, after this summary mode of wiping off the national debt. Before twenty years had elapsed, France beheld her haughty monarch bargaining with this detested race for their readmission into the country, and what is no less extraordinary, the Jews, forgetting all past injustice in the steady pursuit of gain, on the faith of such a king, settling again in this inhospitable kingdom, and filling many streets of Paris which were assigned for their residence. It was not till twenty years after, that an edict was issued to regulate their usurious exactions and the persons to whom it

might be lawful to lend money. They might not lend to an artizan, nor to any man who had no heritable property; to no monk or spiritual person, without the consent of his superior: to no other person, soldier, burgher, or trader, without the consent of his lord. The sacred treasures of the Church were on no account to be taken in pledge; nor any implement or beast used in agriculture. The interest was limited to two deniers on the livre weekly, which would make nearly 50 per cent. yearly. The other articles of this decree regulated the payment of existing debts. Philip Augustus, and some of his barons, made another ordinance for the regulation of debts to Jews: it enforced their having a common seal and the register of their debts under appointed officers. In the south their condition was still comparatively prosperous; it was among the bitter charges of Pope Innocent the Third against Raymond, the heretical count of Toulouse, that he employed Jews in high official situations.

On the accession of Louis VIII. he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate instalments. The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories. In the Crusade against Raymond, the seventh count of Toulouse, it was among the terms of his submission, that he should no longer employ Jewish officers.

Louis IX. ascended the throne, a man whose greatness and whose weakness make us alternately applaud and reprobate his claim to the designation of Saint. But his greatness was his own, his weakness that of his age. Unhappily, it was this darker part of his character which necessarily predominated in his transactions with the Jews. Already during his minority an edict had been passed, again prohibiting all future interest on debts due to Jew-

Louis himself entered into the policy of forcing them to give up what was considered the nefarious trade of usury. Another law (soon after his accession) recognised the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another. In 1234, Louis, for the welfare of his soul, annulled one-third of all debts due to Jews. No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his moveables. The populace readily concurred with their devout monarch in the persecution of their creditors. Louis was actuated by two motives, both grounded on religion; one, implacable hatred towards the enemies of Christ, the other, a conscientious conviction of the unlawfulness of usury. The Lombards and Cahorsins shared in the devout abhorrence of the saintly monarch. Much of his injustice may be traced to a desire of converting the Jews from usurious money-lenders into laborious artizans. But policy entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful ravages; their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism or injustice of sovereign or people. It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder. The next ordinance of the pious Louis was aimed not only at the usuries, but also at the religion of the Jews. Something of awe mingled with the general feeling of detestation against this devoted race. The Jews were suspected of pos-

sessing much dark knowledge, which they employed to wreak their revenge on Christians. They were in alliance with the evil spirits. They were the masters of many fearful secrets and cabalistic spells. A council prohibited their practising as physicians; for who knew by what assistance they might heal? The great source, as well of their blasphemies against Christ, as of these dangerous and mysterious secrets, was their dark and unintelligible Talmud. An edict was issued for the destruction of these volumes. Four-and-twenty carts full of ponderous tomes were committed to the flames in Paris.

Could St. Louis have completed his task, and eradicated the Talmud from the hearts of the Jewish people, he might have shaken the Rabbinical power, and inflicted a fatal blow upon the religion. Many of the wise men fled, to secure their treasures of knowledge. The emigration was well timed for Louis, who wanted money for his Crusade. The goods of the emigrants and their debts were seized for the crown. One thing was yet wanting to crown the cup of misery. Notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, in the common dress of the country, the Israelite might escape the blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a sort of conspicuous outward brand upon his dress; this was called the Rouelle. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. It was enacted by the Council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third, a pontiff more hostile than his predecessors to the Jews, as a general usage throughout Christianity. It was enforced by other councils, as at Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm by St. Louis, in the year before his death, who thus

bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

We are fatigued, our readers also are perhaps equally so, with the dreary prospect, which, like the desert wilderness, still spreads before us. We know not where to look for gleams of Christian mercy through these clouds of fanaticism and injustice. In Germany, indeed, the emperors strove against the spirit of the age; that most extraordinary character, Frederick the Second, aggravated the suspicions which attached to his Christianity, on account of his high-minded resistance to the Papal power, by extending what was deemed unchristian protection over this proscribed race. They brought him intelligence that three Christian children had been found dead, at the time of the Passover, in the house of a Jew. "Let them be buried, then," coolly replied the philosophic emperor. But the emperor rendered the Jews a more effectual service, by instituting an investigation of the fact, whether Jews were bound to murder children on that day. The cause was decided by grave theologians to the acquittal of the Jews from this monstrous charge. We pass over many similar incidents, which show the barbarous credulity of the Christians, and pause only to relate the most extravagant of all. When the victorious hordes of the Mongolian Tartars threatened to overrun the whole of Europe, the Jews are said to have held a meeting, to have solemnly recognised this wild people as brethren, descendants of their own ancestors, and determined to assist their plans of conquest over their Christian oppressors. For this purpose they made proposals to the emperor to enter into a feigned league with the fierce savages, to supply them with the rich wine of the country, which they promised to mingle with poison. The wagons set forth with their freight; they were stopped on a bridge over the Danube by a

collector of tolls ; they insisted on passing free, as being employed on a service of vital interest to the empire. The toll-collector suspected their truth—forced open one of the casks—which was found to contain arms. Yet even this tale was received with ready credulity.

The council of Vienna, A. C. 1267, urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution, the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies, of their fellow-men. They were interdicted the use of Christian baths and inns ; they might employ no Christian servant, nor farm any toll. A severe mullet was thought necessary against their criminal connexion with Christian women. They were commanded to wear a distinctive dress, a pointed cap. There were other clauses enforcing the payment of dues to the Christian clergy, respect for Christian ceremonies, and the prohibition to all Christians to join in social intercourse or to buy meat of the Jews.

In Spain, the darkness gathered more slowly, as the Christian kingdoms gradually encroached on the still retreating Mahometans, the Jews seem to have changed their masters with no great reluctance, and the moderation or the policy of the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon usually refrained from any act which might array these useful subjects against them. The Jews were still frequently intrusted with the administration of the finances, and as they were permitted to maintain a loftier rank in society, so they did not disgrace that rank, by those base and extortionate practices, to which they sank or were reduced under less generous masters ; they were respected, and respected themselves. Their own writers relate the improbable history of a persecution under the good Alfonso the Chaste ; but if true, it was little more than a court intrigue of a Christian endeavouring to supplant a Jewish favourite. On the fatal occasion of assembling a fanatic mob

of Crusaders, they did not entirely escape: the storm fell upon 12,000 Jews, who inhabited Toledo; but the king, Alfonso of Castile, interfered in their behalf, and the Pope, Honorius III., openly rebuked all violence, but recommended the cruel measure of enforcing a distinctive mark upon the dress. During these days of peace, several converts of eminence were made to the Church, and an open dispute was held in Barcelona, between two of the most powerful advocates of the two religions; and the work of Raimond Martin, under the quaint title of the Dagger of the Faith, an extraordinary book for its age, which arose out of the controversy, gives no mean idea of the talents of the disputants. Jewish literature and poetry still flourished in this genial region.

We return to France to witness a repetition of the same extraordinary proceedings which signalized the reign of Philip Augustus; the monarch oppressing, and finally expelling, the Jews, his successor reduced by his poverty to enter into an ignominious treaty with these exiles, and the indefatigable Jews as readily returning to undergo the same or worse calamities. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX. Philip IV. (the Fair) after some vain attempts to wean the Jews from their usurious dealings, and to enforce their adoption of commercial habits, after selling his protection to individuals, and even limiting the power of the clergy over their persons, adopted the policy of Philip Augustus—the total expulsion of the race. In one day (the 22d July, 1306) the most wealthy Jews of Languedoc were seized, their goods sold, and their debts confiscated to the crown. The same scene took place in Paris; their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building. Five years after, whether the law of expulsion had been imperfectly executed, or many of them had stolen back to the place of their former

abode, or whether they had been allowed to return to prove their own debts for the advantage of the crown, a second total expulsion took place, and the soil of France was for a time secured from the profanation of the feet of the circumcised.

Yet scarcely had the son of Philip the Fair, Louis X., ascended the throne, than the disordered state of the royal finances constrained the submission of the king and all his nobles to the readmission of the Jews; and the Jews without hesitation consented to purchase, at a considerable price, the happiness of inhabiting a land where they had already been thus plundered and maltreated. Unhappy race—the earth perhaps offered them no safer asylum! They were permitted to settle in the kingdom of France for twelve years, their cemeteries, their synagogues, and their sacred books were restored; they were encouraged to reclaim before the tribunals such debts as had not been recovered by the royal commissioners, of which they were to receive one-third, the other two-thirds went to the king. The secret motive of this mercy is sufficiently clear. But dearly did they purchase the precarious life which they led in this unsettled land. The next king, Philip the Long, issued an ordinance, in some degree favourable to the Jews on the royal domains, but they were exposed to the tyranny of their lords, the barons, to the jealousy of the clergy, and to the usurpations of the Inquisition, eagerly watching an opportunity to comprehend them within its fatal sphere. But these evils, through strong faith,—it may be feared, through far stronger avarice,—might have been endured. A worse and more unforeseen devastation burst upon their heads. This was the rising of the peasants. Long before, during the captivity of Saint Louis, a multitude of the lowest orders had assembled, and announced their intention, or rather their Divine commission, to rescue their beloved saint and king. They had signalized their

zeal by great barbarities against the Jews. Now a more general commotion took place; under the guidance of a priest and a monk, the peasants and shepherds drew together from all quarters; their design they probably knew not themselves. Some vague prophecies were said to be received among them, that the Holy Land was to be conquered only by shepherds and by the poor in spirit. They travelled in still increasing masses, committing no violence or outrage, entreating bread at the gates of the wondering cities for the love of God. They had neither arms nor discipline, many were without shoes. The flocks, the labours of the field, were abandoned as they passed, young and old fell into their ranks. They marched in a kind of order behind a banner with a white cross. So they traversed the kingdom from Bourges, one party northward to Paris, where the government was appalled by their appearance; the greatest number spread into Languedoc. They were driven only by famine to excesses against their Christian brethren, but by the sternest fanaticism to the most relentless barbarities against the Jews. Every where this unhappy race, which the government could not have protected if it would, were pillaged, massacred, or put to the torture. Where they could, they fled to the fortified places; 500 made their escape to Verdun, on the Garonne; the governor gave them a tower to defend; the shepherds assailed them, set fire to the gates; the desperate Jews threw their children, in hopes of mercy, down to the besiegers, and slew each other to a man.

In almost all the cities of Languedoc these frightful scenes took place, yet this was but the beginning of sorrows. An epidemic pestilence followed in the ensuing year. But a people in such a state of excitement could not look to the natural causes of such a visitation, the universal distress and famine consequent on the general abandonment

of labour, and the wide-spread devastation. Dark rumours were propagated, that the fountains, and even the rivers of the kingdom, had been poisoned. Public detestation pointed at once to the authors of this dire crime, the Lepers and the Jews; the Lepers as the agents, the Jews as the principals. A correspondence was said to have been detected between the king of Tunis and other infidel kings and the Jews, offering them large rewards for their co-operation in this diabolic scheme. The poor Lepers were first tortured to confess, and on their confession condemned. The Jews' turn came next; the Pope, John XXII., had seized the opportunity of their misery, during the preceding year, to aggravate it, by denouncing their detestable sorceries and magic, and by commanding their Talmuds to be burned. The Papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, says a chronicler, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon, a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and 160 of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though they were going to a wedding. Many women with their children threw themselves in to escape forcible baptism. At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes; but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils 150,000 livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died, and the heir, king Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment: 57,000 livres were assessed on the Jews of Languedoc; they were permitted to leave their prisons to collect the sum required; and then, as the height of mercy, allowed to gather together the rest of their effects and leave the kingdom. A third time the same strange scene was enacted. A second pestilence, in 1348, com-

pleted the wretchedness of the few Jews that remained in this desolated country : while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.*

The Jews, driven in this merciless manner from the country, where their portion had been the unrestrained excesses of the boors, and legal punishment as authors of a great national calamity, the pestilence, by which themselves had suffered so dreadfully—loaded in short with every popular outrage and calumny, began nevertheless to steal back into a land where their sordid industry still found a harvest; and no sooner were the distresses of the kingdom at their height, through the civil wars, the conquests of the English, and the captivity of the king, (John,) than they opened a negotiation with the regent, to purchase the privilege of returning to this land of lawlessness and blood. Menecier of Vesoul conducted the treaty on the part of the Jews. The terms were not finally arranged till the return of the king, though it seems, by the appointment of Louis, count d'Etampes, as guardian of the Jews, that they had entered the kingdom during the regency. The price of admission into the kingdom was fixed at fourteen florins for a man and his wife; for children and servants one florin two tournois. The price of residence at seven florins annually for man and wife; children and servants, one florin. The treaty was for twenty years. The Jews might buy houses, possess synagogues, cemeteries, and their sacred books. They were no longer under baronial jurisdiction; but under the king, represented by his officer, the guardian of the Jews. They were free from all other taxes, except land tax. The interest of money was fixed at four deniers the livre

* They were received with kindness by Clement VI., in the territory of Avignon.

weekly,—double the former standard. They might defend their houses and property from unlawful attacks. They could not be challenged to trial by battle. They were not to be compelled to hear Christian sermons. Finally, all their former privileges were confirmed. For some time the position of the Jews seemed materially improved; though still pursued by the clergy and the people with unmitigated hatred, they had detached the crown from the hostile confederacy. In Languedoc, the clergy published an excommunication against all who should furnish the Jews with fire, water, bread, or wine. The civil power, the marshal d'Audenham, interposed and repressed the fiery zeal of the Church. Charles the Fifth renewed the treaty first for six, afterward for ten years. The crown began to have open dealings with, and to raise loans from the Jews. The prudent Menecier de Vesoul, their acknowledged representative, appears to have conducted their affairs with great address; the worst grievance must have been their being still compelled to wear a distinguishing mark upon their dress; but even this they obtained permission to lay aside on a journey. But with their wealth their danger inevitably increased. Whether honest or usurious, their gains were wrung from an impoverished nobility and people. During the administration of the duke of Anjou, a tumult took place, arising out of the heavy burthens of the people. The nobles cried aloud for the expulsion of the Jews; the people wreaked their rage partly on the archives where their debts were registered, partly on the Jews, who were pillaged and slain, their children torn from their mothers' arms, and carried to the churches to be baptized. The strong arm of authority allayed for a time, but could not suppress, the brooding storm of popular emotion. During the early part of the reign of Charles the Sixth, the Jews were treated with equity and consideration; in the frequent dis-

putes which arose about the registering and recovery of their debts, they obtained equal justice; in one respect alone they were unfortunate—they were withdrawn from the special jurisdiction of the king and submitted to the ordinary tribunals. But the distresses of the country still increased; with the distresses, the difficulty of obtaining money: every order lay at the mercy of the money-lender. But former calamities did not teach the Jews moderation: regardless that they were arraying against themselves both nobles and people, they went on accumulating their perilous riches, till, like a thunderclap, the fatal edict burst upon them, commanding them once more to evacuate the kingdom, though on milder terms, with the liberty of receiving all debts due to them, and of selling their property. The cause of this change in the royal policy is probably to be sought in the malady of the unhappy king. His confessor was perpetually at his ear, urging to the disordered and melancholy monarch the sin of thus protecting an accursed people from the miseries to which they were deservedly doomed by the wrath of God. The nobles hated them as debtors, the people as fanatics. The queen was won over; and the advice of those few wise counsellors, who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community, was overborne by more stern advisers. An accusation, made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of a convert to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays in all the cross roads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of 18,000 francs. The rest were allowed a month to wind up their affairs; and the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and an indefinite period of banishment.

The history of the German Jews during the thir-

teenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people, generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure. No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated, but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. Fatal tumults were caused by the march of the Flagellants, a set of mad enthusiasts, who passed through the cities of Germany, preceded by a crucifix, and scourging their naked and bleeding backs as they went, as a punishment for their own offences and those of the Christian world. These fanatics atoned, as they supposed, rather than aggravated their sins against the God of Mercy, by plundering and murdering the Jews in Frankfort and other places. The same dark stories were industriously propagated, readily believed, and ferociously avenged, of fountains poisoned, children crucified, the Host stolen and outraged. The power of their liege lord and emperor, even when exerted for their protection, was but slightly respected and feebly enforced, especially where every province and almost every city had or claimed an independent jurisdiction. Still, persecuted in one city, they fled to another, and thus spread over the whole of Germany, Silesia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland—oppressed by the nobles, anathematized by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers in the commercial cities, despised and abhorred by the populace. Of the means by which the general hatred was exasperated and kept alive, we will select one legend, (the story has its parallel in almost every country,) which is commemorated, to their infinite shame, in the enlightened city of Brussels to the present day, by a solemn procession of the clergy and the exposition of the Host. It is taken from a book regularly reprinted and sold, and which all faithful members of the Church are directed to

receive as undoubted truth, because “charity believeth all things!?”—A Jew, named Jonathan of Enghien, desired to possess himself of the consecrated Host, in order to treat it with the sacrilegious insult by which that impious race delight in showing their hatred to Christianity. He applied to one John of Louvain, whose poverty could not resist the bribe of sixty golden coins, called moutons d’or. John mounted by night into the chapel of St. Catherine, stole the pix, with its sacred contents, and conveyed it to Jonathan. The Jew, triumphant in his iniquity, assembled his friends, when they blasphemed the Host in the most impious manner, but abstained from piercing it with their knives till the approaching Good Friday. In the mean time, on account of the murder of their son, Jonathan’s wife persuaded him to migrate to Brussels. There the Host was borne into the synagogue, treated with the grossest insult, then pierced with knives. The blood poured forth profusely, but the obdurate Jews, unmoved by the miracle, dispersed tranquilly to their homes. Having done this, they resolved to send their treasure to Cologne. They made choice of a woman, unfortunately for them, secretly converted to the Catholic faith, as the bearer. Her poverty, but not her will consented: but during the night, seized with remorse of conscience, she determined to denounce the crime to the clergy. The consequences may be anticipated: all the Jews were arrested, put to the torture, convicted, condemned to be torn by red-hot pincers, and then burned alive. The picture of their sufferings as they writhed on the stake is exhibited with horrid coolness, or rather satisfaction, in the book of the legend. And this triumph of the faith, supported, it is said, by many miracles, is to the present day commemorated in one of the first Christian cities in Europe.

BOOK XXV.

JEWS IN ENGLAND.

First Settlement—William Rufus—Henry II.—Coronation of Richard I.—Massacre at York—King John—Spoliations of the Jews—Henry III.—Jewish Parliament—Edward I.—Statute of Judaism—Final Expulsion from the Realm.

IN the dark ages, England was not advanced beyond the other nations in Europe in the civil or religious wisdom of toleration. While the sovereign authority—that of the Pope in Italy, of the emperor in Germany, and of the kings in Spain—frequently held in check the fierce animosities of the nobles, the clergy, and the populace, against their Israelitish subjects; with rare exceptions, the kings of England, like those of France, joined in the inhuman and impolitic confederacy against them. There were Jews in England under the Saxons. The ecclesiastical constitutions of Egbright, archbishop of York, A. C. 740, prohibit Christians from appearing at Jewish feasts. They are named in a charter to the monks of Croyland, A. C. 833. They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror the right of settlement in the country. His son, William Rufus, shocked the devout feelings of his people, by his open intercourse with the enemies of Christ. He appointed a public debate in London between the two parties, and profanely swore, by “the face of St. Luke,” that if the Rabbins defeated the bishops, he would turn Jew himself. The Jews boasted that they obtained the victory, while the trembling people, in a thunderstorm and an earthquake, recognised the wrath of God against the irreligious king. But William was unmoved; he re-

ceived at Rouen the complaint of certain Jews, that their children had been seduced to the profession of Christianity. Their petition was supported by a liberal offer of money. Many, either from conviction or confiding in the king's protection, abjured their new faith. One Stephen offered sixty marks for his son's restoration to Judaism, but the son had the courage to resist the imperious monarch. "Get thee hence quickly," said the king, "and obey, or, by the face of St. Luke, I will cause thine eyes to be plucked out of thine head." The young man temperately adhered to his determination. The king yielded, on which the Jew demanded back his money. The king unwillingly restored half. Rufus gave still deeper offence, by farming to Jews the vacant bishoprics. During this reign Jews were established in Oxford and in London. In the former city they had three halls, for the accommodation of youth:—Lombard Hall, Moses Hall, and Jacob Hall. They taught Hebrew to Christian as well as Jewish students. They were not, however, permitted a burial-ground—their only cemetery was in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in London.* As history is silent about them for a short period, we may conclude that they were growing in opulence, and consequently in public detestation. In the 10th of Stephen the same dark tales began to be bruited abroad which were so readily credited on the continent;—they are said to have crucified a youth at Norwich. "This crime," their historian shrewdly observes, "they are never said to have practised but at such times as the king was manifestly in want of money." The same atrocity was imputed to them at Gloucester, and at St. Edmondsbury. At the latter place the churchmen derived further advantage besides aggravating the general hatred

* They afterward obtained a piece of burial-ground, the site on which the beautiful tower and part of Magdalene College stand.

against the Jews;—the body of the youth was interred with great solemnity, and his tomb wrought frequent miracles. Nor did the king (Henry the Second) overlook this favourable opportunity for filling his coffers: twelve years before, he had extorted a large sum from the Jews—5,000 marks—and banished many, probably those who refused to accede to his terms. Other anecdotes illustrate their increasing wealth and unpopularity. They are charged with having lent money to some of the adventurers for Ireland, who undertook that enterprise contrary to the king's order; and with receiving in pledge some of the sacred treasures of the church of St. Edmondsbury: it is to be hoped that this transaction had no connexion with the horrible charge related above.* The most remarkable evidence of their wealth is, that at a parliament held at Northampton, to raise a tax for an expedition to the Holy Land, the whole Christian population was assessed at £70,000—the Jews alone at £60,000. The abandonment of the expedition, and the death of the king, prevented the levying of this enormous burthen. But Henry's death, instead of relieving

* "Others," says the author of *Anglia Judatca*, "were grown so presumptuous as to scoff at and ridicule the highest dignitaries of the church." For we read that a certain Jew, having the honour about this time to travel towards Shrewsbury, in company with Richard Peche, archdeacon of Malpas, in Cheshire, and a reverend dean, whose name was Deville, among other discourse which they condescended to entertain him with, the archdeacon told him that his jurisdiction was so large as to reach from a place called Ill Street, all along till they came to Malpas, and took in a wide circumference of country. To which the infidel, being more witty than wise, immediately replied, "Say you so, sir? God grant me then a good deliverance. For it seems I am riding in a country where Sin is the archdeacon, and the Devil himself the dean—where the entrance into the archdeaconry is Ill Street, and the going from it Bad Steps;" alluding to the French words "*Péché*" and "*Malpas*." Our author is grievously offended at these liberties being taken with such reverend personages; but charitably concludes, that so facetious a Jew would hardly have been concerned in such tragical crimes as they were charged with. The story rather indicates that the clergy and the Jews sometimes met on terms of amity; and it is curious, as showing the mixture of French and English which seems to have prevailed in the language of the time.

them from oppression, was the accidental cause of a worse calamity—it gave an occasion for all the passions, which had long been brooding within the hearts of the people, to break forth into fierce and undisguised hostility. The whole nation crowded to the coronation of the brave Richard the First. Among the rest, the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendour of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers, and the whole people, demanded the exclusion of such notorious sorcerers from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign by their ill-omened appearance. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted. A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth half dead, from the church. The news spread like wild-fire; the populace rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews, which they suspected, and found to conceal, under a modest exterior, incalculable wealth: they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority; and during the whole night the scene of plunder and havoc went on. The king, when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired, ordered a strict investigation. Many were apprehended—three were hanged; but such seems to have been the state of the public feeling, that the government either would not—or dared not—revenge the wrongs inflicted on the Jews: of the three, two suffered for robbing a Christian, on pretence of his being a Jew; one for setting fire to the house of a Jew, which burned down the next, belonging to a Christian. One Benedict, to save his life, had submitted to baptism. He appealed to

the king to release him from his compulsory engagement. The king referred this new case to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was present. The archbishop, Baldwin, who was more used to handle the battle-axe than to turn over tomes of casuistry, answered, though bluntly, perhaps with more plain sense than his more learned brethren might have done, "Why, if he is not willing to become a servant of God, he must even continue a servant of the devil." The intelligence of the vengeance wrought by the citizens of London on the enemies of the Lord, probably likewise of the rich spoil they had obtained, spread rapidly throughout the country. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers, of all classes, who had taken up the Cross. The example of London sounded like a tocsin, and directed their yet untried zeal and valour against the wealth and the infidelity of the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered, maltreated, slain. At Lincoln, they took timely warning—and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York more disastrous scenes took place. Benedict, the relapsed convert, was a native of that city, but died in London of the ill usage he had received. His friend Jacimus (Joachim) returned to York with the sad intelligence; but scarcely had he arrived when he found the city in a state of the most alarming excitement. The house of Benedict, a spacious building, was attacked; the wife and children of Benedict, with many others who had fled there as to a place of strength, were murdered; the house burned to the ground. Joachim, with the wealthiest of the Jews, took refuge in the castle with their most valuable effects; those who were not sufficiently expeditious were put to the sword—neither age nor sex was respected; a few only escaped by submitting to baptism.

The Jews within the citadel, whether on good grounds or not, suspected that secret negotiations were going on between the governor of the castle, and the populace, for their surrender; the governor, it was subtly spread abroad among them, was to be repaid for his treachery by a large share of the plunder. The desperate men felt that they had but one alternative; they seized the opportunity of the governor's absence in the town, closed the gates against him, and boldly manned the citadel. The sheriff of the county happened to be in the town with an armed force. At the persuasion of the indignant governor and the populace, he gave the signal for attack; but, alarmed at the frantic fury with which the rabble swarmed to the assault, he endeavoured to revoke his fatal order,—but in vain. A more influential body, the clergy, openly urged on the besiegers. A canon regular, of the Premonstratensian order, stood in the midst of the ferocious multitude, in his surplice, shouting aloud, “Destroy the enemies of Christ! destroy the enemies of Christ!” Every morning this fierce churchman took the sacrament, and then proceeded to his post, where he perished at length, crushed by a great stone from the battlements. The besieged, after a manful resistance, found their fate unavoidable. A council was summoned. Their Rabbi, a foreigner, a man educated in one of their schools of learning, and universally respected for his profound knowledge of the Law, rose up. “Men of Israel,” he said, “the God of our Fathers, to whom none can say, ‘What doest thou?’ calls upon us to die for our Law. Death is inevitable; but we may yet choose whether we will die speedily and nobly, or ignominiously, after horrible torments and the most barbarous usage—my advice is, that we voluntarily render up our souls to our Creator, and fall by our own hands. The deed is both reasonable, and according to the Law, and is sanctioned by the example of our most

illustrious ancestors." The old man sat down in tears. The assembly was divided; some declared that he had spoken wisely; others that it was a hard saying. The Rabbi arose again, and said, "Let those who approve not of my proposal, depart in peace." Some few obeyed, and left the place—the greater number remained unmoved upon their seats. They then arose, collected their most precious effects, burned all that was combustible, and buried the rest. They set fire to the castle in many places, cut the throats of their wives and children, and then their own. The Rabbi and Joachim alone survived. The place of honour was reserved for the Rabbi; he first slew Joachim, then pierced himself to the heart. The next morning the populace rushed to the assault with their accustomed fury. They beheld flames bursting from every part of the castle; and a few miserable wretches, with supplications and wild cries, running to and fro on the battlements, who related the fate of their companions; they entreated mercy, they offered to submit to baptism. No sooner were the terms accepted, and the gates opened, than the fanatic multitude poured in, and put every living being to the sword. Not content with this triumph, they rushed to the cathedral, demanded all the bonds and obligations which had been laid up there in the archives, and cast them all into an enormous bonfire. The king might perhaps have forgiven their former crime, the massacre of his unoffending subjects, but this was an inexpiable offence—treason against his exchequer—as all these debts would have fallen to the crown. Geoffrey Rydal, bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, was sent to York, to investigate the affair; but the ringleaders of the riot fled for a time to Scotland, the chief citizens entered into recognisances, nor does it appear that any persons paid the penalty of the law for this atrocious massacre, by which 500 or 1500 men, the numbers vary were put to death.

On his return from captivity, Richard directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews; the justices on their circuits were ordered to inquire who were the murderers, and what became of the property which had been seized: all who were in possession of these effects, and had not compounded by a fine, were to be brought to justice. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognised as belonging to the crown. Their property was to be registered, on pain of forfeiture. No bonds and obligations were to be valid, unless made in the presence of two lawyers, Jews, two lawyers, Christians, with two public notaries, and enrolled; a fee to the crown was due on the enrolment of every bond. Two justices of the Jews were appointed, who attended at the exchequer to superintend this important branch of the royal revenue; there was likewise an officer, named the Jews' Escheator.

John, previous to his accession, had probably many dealings with the Jews; he knew their value, as a source of revenue, and commenced his reign with heaping favours upon them, by which more were daily tempted to settle in the kingdom; it might almost seem, that this weak and unprincipled, but crafty, prince had formed a deliberate scheme of allowing them to accumulate ample treasures, in order that hereafter he might reap a richer harvest of plunder, and render himself independent of his unruly subjects. Their High Priest received a patent for his office from the king. He was styled in the deed, "our Beloved and our Friend" (*dilectus et familiaris noster*). The next year a charter was issued, restoring the Jews, in England and Normandy, to all the privileges enjoyed under Henry the First. They might settle where they pleased; they might hold lands and fees, and take mortgages. They were to be tried only in the king's court, or before the governors of his royal castles. Their

oath was valid as evidence—a Christian and a Jewish witness were of equal weight. In disputes with Christians, Jews were to be tried by their own peers. They might freely buy and sell, excepting the sacred vessels and furniture of the Church. All the subjects of the realm were called upon to protect the Jews and their chattels, as the chattels of the king. Four thousand marks were paid for this charter. By another statute, their own suits were to be determined by their own Law. The favour of John was not likely to conciliate that of his subjects. All classes looked on the Jews with darker jealousy. The same defamatory tales were repeated of their crucifying children; and the citizens of London, probably envious of their opulence, treated them with many indignities. The king wrote a strong rebuke to the mayor and to the barons of London, in which he commended the Jews to their protection, stating that he attributed the recent outrages only to the fools—not to the discreet citizens—of the metropolis: on a sudden, impatient, as it were, that any part of his subjects should suppose him capable of a long effort of justice, or yielding with his accustomed weakness to the immediate pressure of his necessities, or perhaps rejoicing in thus having prepared himself subjects for spoliation, in whose behalf neither the imperious Pope nor his refractory barons would interfere, John passed to the extreme of cruelty against the miserable Jews. Every Israelite, without distinction of age or sex, was imprisoned, their wealth confiscated to the exchequer, and the most cruel torments extorted from the reluctant confession of their secret treasures. The story of the Jew of Bristol is well known—who was to lose a tooth a day till he betrayed his hoards. Ten thousand marks of silver was demanded of this wealthy merchant; he obstinately lost seven teeth, and saved the rest by paying the ransom demanded. The king gained 60,000 marks by this

atrocious proceeding. A second time demands equally extravagant were made; and these unhappy wretches, who paid so dearly for the privilege of being the vassals of the crown, were still further plundered by the barons, as belonging to the king. Their treasures in London were seized, and their houses demolished to repair the walls, by these stern assertors of the liberties of the land. Yet the regulations relating to the Jews in the Great Charter, though not perhaps quite equitable, were by no means wanting in moderation. If a man died in debt to a Jew, the debt bore no interest till the heir came of age. The wife was to receive her dower, and the children their maintenance; the debt was to be discharged out of the residue.

The first act of the guardians of the realm, under Henry the Third, was to release the Jews who were in prison, and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property. They were exempted from spiritual jurisdiction, and amenable only to the king and his judges; but they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress,—two stripes of white cloth or parchment. But the avowed protection of the crown could not shield them from the jealousy of the merchants whose traffic they injured, the hatred of the people, and the bigotry of the clergy. The warden of the Cinque Ports imprisoned several Jews on their landing in England. The government interfered, but enacted that all Jews should report themselves and be enrolled by the justices of the Jews immediately on their landing, and not quit the kingdom again without a passport. But the Church was their more implacable enemy. Among many enactments, similar to those which had been passed in other kingdoms, one against Jews keeping Christian slaves, Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, prohibited all Christians,

on fear of ecclesiastical censure, from selling them the necessaries of life. The crown again interfered, and commanded all good subjects to defy the spiritual interdict. But these days of peace did not continue long—they offered too great temptation to an impoverished king, in perpetual contest with his subjects. Their offences were said to call for punishment,—they dared to sue even the clergy on their bonds; probably in England, as in other countries, their sordid spirit, ever watchful to make reprisals on society, might give countenance to many scarcely perhaps exaggerated stories of their usurious extortions. A crime was now laid to their charge, much more probable than the tales of their crucifying children,—their tampering with and clipping the coin of the realm. A sudden demand was made (A. C. 1230) of a third of their moveables to be paid into the exchequer. It was followed in two years by another of 18,000 marks. In 1236, by a third of 10,000 marks.* Yet the royal confidence in the inexhaustible resources of the Jews, and the popular prejudice that they could only be supplied by nefarious, if not by magical or supernatural, means, were confirmed, not only by the discharge of these enormous demands, but by other indications of opulence, which could not be drained even by such unprecedented exactations. The daughter of Hamon, a Jew of Hereford, paid to the king 5,000 marks as a relief. A baron's heir paid for his barony only 100 marks—knight's fee 100 shillings. Aaron of York compounded for a payment of 100 marks a year to be free from taxes. Aaron solemnly declared to Matthew Paris, that the king had exacted from him in seven years 30,000 marks of silver—besides 200 of gold, paid to the queen. Yet a few years after, the nation beheld the curious spec-

* About this period a house was opened in London for the reception of Jewish converts; it was in Chancery Lane. Its site is now occupied by the Rolls.

tacle of a Jewish parliament regularly summoned. Writs were issued to the sheriffs, with most extraordinary menaces of punishment in case of disobedience, to return six of the richest Jews from the more considerable towns, two from those where they were fewer in number.* This parliament met and like other parliaments was graciously informed by the sovereign, that he must have money—20,000 marks was the sum demanded—his majesty's faithful Jews could boast no parliamentary privileges, nor were permitted to demand freedom of debate. They were sent home to collect the money as speedily as possible; it was to be assessed and levied among themselves, and as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming, the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their goods and chattels, and imprisoned.

Our history has a melancholy sameness—perpetual exactions, the means of enforcing them differing only in their degrees of cruelty. The parliament began to consider that these extraordinary succours ought at least to relieve the rest of the nation. They began to inquire into the king's resources from this quarter, and the king consented that one of the two justices of the Jews should be appointed by parliament. But the barons thought more of easing themselves than of protecting the oppressed. The next year a new demand of 8,000 marks was made, under pain of being transported to Ireland; and lest they should withdraw their families into places of concealment, they were forbidden, under the penalty of outlawry and confiscation, to remove wife or child from their usual place of residence. During the next three years 60,000 marks more were levied. How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucrative, to endure

* Southampton and Newcastle had petitioned that no Jews might be permitted to reside within their walls. This privilege was extended to other towns.

such perpetual exactions ? The reason must be found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent.; certain Oxford scholars thought themselves relieved by being constrained to pay only twopence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings. In fact, the rivalry of more successful usurers seems to have afflicted the Jews more deeply than the exorbitant demands of the king.—These were the Caorsini, Italian bankers, though named from the town of Cahors, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue. It was the practice of these persons, under the sanction of their principal, to lend money for three months without interest, but afterward to receive five per cent. monthly, till the debt was discharged: the former device was to exempt them from the charge of usury. The king, at one time, attempted to expel this new swarm of locusts; but they asserted their authority from the Pope, and the monarch trembled. Nor were their own body always faithful to the Jews. A certain Abraham, who lived at Berkhamstead and Wallingford, with a beautiful wife, who bore the heathen name of Flora, was accused of treating an image of the Virgin with most indecent contumely; he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but released on the intervention of Richard, earl of Cornwall, on payment of 700 marks. He was a man, it should seem, of infamous character; for his brethren accused him of coining, and offered 1,000 marks rather than he should be released from prison: he revenged himself by laying information of plots and conspiracies entered into by the whole people, and the more probable charge of concealment of their wealth from the rapacious hands of the king. This led to a strict and severe investigation of their property.

The distresses of the king increased; and as his parliament resolutely refused to maintain his ex-

travagant expenditures, nothing remained but to drain still farther the veins of the Jews. The office was delegated to Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother, who, from his wealth, the king might consider possessed of some secret for accumulating riches from hidden sources. The Rabbi Elias was deputed to wait on the prince, expressing the unanimous determination of all the Jews to quit the country, rather than submit to further burthens—their trade was ruined by the Caorsini; they could scarcely live on the miserable gains they now obtained. Their departure from the country was a vain boast; for whither should they go? The edicts of the king of France had closed that country against them, and the inhospitable world scarcely afforded a place of refuge. Earl Richard treated them with leniency, and accepted a small sum.—But the next year the king renewed his demands—his declaration affected no disguise, “It is dreadful to imagine the debts to which I am bound. By the face of God, they amount to 200,000 marks; if I should say 300,000, I should not go beyond the truth. Money I must have, from any place, from any person, or by any means.” The king’s acts display as little dignity as his proclamation. He actually sold to his brother Richard all the Jews in the realm for 5,000 marks, giving him full power over their property and persons—our records still preserve the terms of this extraordinary bargain and sale. Popular opinion, which in the worst times is some restraint upon the arbitrary oppressions of kings, in this case would rather applaud the utmost barbarity of the monarch, than commiserate the wretchedness of the victims; for a new tale of the crucifixion of a Christian child, called Hugh of Lincoln, was now spreading horror throughout the country. The fact was confirmed by a solemn trial, and the conviction and execution of the criminals. It was proved according to the mode of

proof in those days, that the child had been stolen, fattened on bread and milk for ten days, and crucified in the presence of all the Jews in England.—But the earth could not endure to be an accomplice in the crime; it cast up the buried remains, and the affrighted criminals were obliged to throw it into a well, where it was found by the mother: the body was canonized; and pilgrims crowded to the church of Lincoln, to pay their devotions before the infant martyr. Great part of this story refutes itself, but we have already admitted the possibility, that among the ignorant and fanatic Jews there might be some, who, exasperated by the constant repetition of this charge, might brood over it so long, as at length to be tempted to its perpetration. How deeply this legend sunk into the public mind, may be conceived from Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale* :—

“O young Jew of Lincoln, slain also
By cursed Jews, as it is notable.”

The rest of the reign of Henry the Third passed away with the same unmitigated oppressions of the Jews; which the Jews, no doubt, in some degree revenged by their extortions from the people. The contest between the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Jews was arranged by certain constitutions, set forth by the king in council. By these laws, no Jew could reside in the kingdom, but as king's serf. Service was to be performed in the synagogue in a low tone, so as not to offend the ears of Christians. The Jews were forbidden to have Christian names for their children.

The Jews had probably passed back to the crown on the election of Richard, as king of the Romans. They were again sold to prince Edward. By prince Edward,—as they probably thought, a more dire calamity,—made over to certain merchants of Dauphiny. Yet, after the battle of Lewes, the Jews of London, Lincoln, and Northampton, were plun-

dered, as having conspired with the king against his barons. The king gave countenance to these sinister reports, by breaking his bargain with the prince, and resuming the Jews into his own power; and from this time he seems to have treated them with greater lenity, which only exposed them to the vengeance of the barons. It has been observed, that oppression which drives even wise men mad, may instigate fanatics to acts of phrensy. An incident which occurred at Oxford will illustrate this truth. While the chancellor and the whole body of the university were in solemn procession to the relics of St. Frideswide, they were horror-struck by beholding a Jew rush forth, seize the cross which was borne before them, dash it to the ground, and trample upon it with the most furious contempt.—The offender seems to have made his escape in the tumult, but his people suffered for his crime. Prince Edward was then at Oxford; and, by the royal decree, the Jews were imprisoned, and forced, notwithstanding much artful delay on their part, to erect a beautiful cross of white marble, with an image of the Virgin and Child, gilt all over, in the area of Merton College;* and to present to the proctors another cross of silver, to be borne in all future processions of the university. The last solemn act of Henry of Winchester was a statute of great importance; it disqualified the Jews altogether from holding lands or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the city of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away; those which they held by mortgage, were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on

* Walter de Merton purchased of a Jew the ground on which the front of his College was erected.

these bonds. Henry almost died in the act of ex-tortion; he had ordered the arrears of all charges to be peremptorily paid, under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers, the Caorsini, and the friars themselves, were moved to commiseration, though some complained that the wild outcries raised in the synagogue on this doteful occasion, disturbed the devotion of the Christians in the neighbouring churches.

The death of Henry released them from this Egyptian bondage; but they changed their master, not their fortune. The first act of Edward's reign regulated the affairs of the Jews exactly in the same spirit: a new talliage was demanded, which was to extend to the women and children; the penalty of nonpayment was exile, not imprisonment. The defaulter was to proceed immediately to Dover, with his wife and children, leaving his house and property to the use of the king. This edict was followed up by the celebrated act of parliament concerning Judaism, the object of which seems to have been the same with the policy of Louis IX. of France, to force the Jews to abandon usury, and betake themselves to traffic, manufactures, or the cultivation of land. It positively prohibited all usury, and cancelled all debts on payment of the principal. No Jew might distress beyond the moiety of a Christian's land and goods; they were to wear their badge, pay an Easter offering of threepence, men and women, to the king. They were permitted to practise merchandise, or labour with their hands, and to hire farms for cultivation for fifteen years. On these terms they were assured of the royal protection; but manual labour and traffic were not sources sufficiently expeditious for the enterprising avarice of the Jews. Many of them, thus reduced took again to a more unlawful and dangerous occu-

pation,—clipping and adulterating the coin. In one year, 280 were executed for this offence in London alone. But not all the statutes, nor public executions, nor the active preaching of the Dominican friars, who undertook to convert them, if they were constrained to hear their sermons, could either alter the Jewish character, still patient of all evil, so that they could extort wealth; or suppress the still increasing clamour of public detestation, which demanded that the land should cast forth from its indignant bosom this irreclaimable race of rapacious infidels. The king listened to the public voice, and the irrevocable edict of total expulsion from the realm was issued. Their whole property was seized at once, and just money left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable. The king, in the execution of this barbarous proceeding, put on the appearance both of religion and moderation. He expressed his intention of converting great part of his gains to pious uses; but the Church looked in vain for the fulfilment of his vows. He issued orders that the Jews should be treated with kindness and courtesy on their journey to the seashore. But where the prince by his laws thus gave countenance to the worst passions of human nature, it was not likely that they would be suppressed by his proclamations. The Jews were pursued from the kingdom with every mark of popular triumph in their sufferings: one man, indeed, the master of a vessel at Queenborough, was punished for leaving a considerable number on the shore at the mouth of the river, when, as they prayed to him to rescue them from their perilous situation, he answered, that they had better call on Moses, who had made them pass safe through the Red Sea; and sailing away with their remaining property, left them to their fate. The number of exiles is variously estimated at 15,060

and 16,511 ; all their property, debts, obligations, mortgages, escheated to the king. The convents made themselves masters of their valuable libraries, one at Stamford, another at Oxford, from which the celebrated Roger Bacon is said to have derived great information ; and long after, the common people could dig in the places they had frequented, in hope of finding buried treasures. Thus terminates the period of the History of the Jews in England.

BOOK XXVI.

JEWS EXPELLED FROM SPAIN.

Zeal of the Clergy—New Christians—Inquisition—Expulsion of the Jews—Sufferings in Italy—In Morocco—In Portugal—Subsequent Miseries in that Kingdom.

FRANCE and England had thus finally, it might appear, purified their realms from the infection of Jewish infidelity. Two centuries after their expulsion from England, one after that from France—Spain, disdaining to be outdone in religious persecution, made up the long arrears of her dormant intolerance, and asserted again her evil pre-eminence in bigotry. The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste—in the former, as it were, an order in the state. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been, generally, reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom—they were cultivators and possessors of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and probably deserved—for they had in their own tongue, or in Arabic, the best books of the ancient writers on medicine; and by their intercourse with the East, no doubt obtained many valuable drugs unknown in the West. Though they had suffered in Navarre and the adjacent districts by the insurrection of the shepherds, which spread through that region, and were accused in that province, as in the south of France, of causing the dreadful epidemic which ensued, by poisoning the

fountains, they were long protected, by the wise policy of the kings, both in Arragon and Castile, from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy. This protection of the Jews was charged as a crime against Pedro the Cruel by his brother, Henry of Trastamara. Bertrand du Guesclin and his followers, when they marched into Spain to dethrone Pedro, assumed a white cross as the symbol of a holy war, and announced their determination to exterminate the Jews. "Pedro," said Bertrand to the Black Prince, "is worse than a Saracen, for he holds commerce with the Jews." They acted up to their declaration—no quarter was given to Moor or Jew—"kill all like sheep and oxen," was the relentless order, "unless they accept baptism." But however Henry might conciliate his French allies by entering into their intolerant spirit to gain his throne, he was too wise to follow it when the throne was won. The cortes seized every opportunity of invading the privileges and increasing the burthens of the Jews—for the nobles, as in other countries, bore impatiently the mortgages with which their estates were encumbered, and were eager to revenge on their creditors the shame and inconvenience of their embarrassments. The cortes of Burgos raised the protection money of the Jews—that of Valladolid attempted to renew an act prohibiting them to practise as physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, as well as to hold high offices about the court—they also made bitter complaints of their usurious practices. But the clergy beheld with still deeper sentiments of animosity so large a part of the population disdaining their dominion, and refusing tribute to the Church—perhaps holding profitable bonds on the estates of the cathedrals and convents. Religious zeal was still further animated by pride, avarice, and jealousy—they began to preach against them with fatal, if not convincing, energy. At the

voice of Martin, bishop of Niebla, the population of Seville rose, plundered the Jewish houses, and at length the whole quarter was in flames. Cordova, Toledo, Valencia, and other cities, with the island of Majorca, followed the example. Plunder and massacre raged throughout the realm in defiance of the civil authority, and even of that of the king: the only way of escape was to submit to baptism. The number of these enforced converts is stated at 200,000. The old calumnies of insulting the Host were spread abroad with great industry, and in all parts the clergy, with incessant activity, laboured to keep up the flame. The most prominent and successful of these missionaries was Vincent Ferrier, who traversed the country, followed by a train of barefooted penitents, bewailing their sins and scourging themselves as they went, while the earth was stained with their blood. His miracles and his preaching are said to have changed 35,000 Jews to sincere Christians. The antipope, Benedict XIII. (Peter de Luna), maintained the last retreat of his authority in his native country of Aragon. A solemn disputation was held in his presence, in which an apostate Jew, who had assumed the name of Hieronymo de Santa Fe, is reported to have heaped confusion on the discomfited Rabbins, who maintained the cause of Judaism. The Pope assisted his advocate by a summary mode of argument—he issued an edict, commanding the Talmud, the bulwark of his antagonists, to be burned, and all blasphemers against Christianity to be punished. The Jews were declared incapable of civil offices—one synagogue alone was to be permitted; and after some other enactments, it was ordered that all Jews should attend Christian sermons three times a year—but probably the deposit of Benedict annulled this law. Another apostate Jew, Paul of Burgos, took an active part against his persecuted brethren. This state of affairs lasted through the greater part

of the fifteenth century. The clergy, often seconded by the nobles, watched every opportunity of increasing the number of their enforced converts; the populace were ever ready to obey the tocsin of their spiritual leaders, and to indulge, under their holy sanction, the desire of plunder or revenge. The union of the two kingdoms, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the crisis of the fate both of the new Christians and of the unconverted Jews. Notwithstanding their apparent and recorded triumphs, the clergy had long mistrusted their own success—not only in the conformists themselves did there appear a secret inclination to their former religious usages, and but a cold and constrained obedience to the laws of the Church, but from generation to generation the hereditary evil lurked in their veins. The new Christians, as they were called, formed a kind of distinct and intermediate class of believers; they attended the services, they followed the processions, they listened to the teaching of the Church, but it was too evident that their hearts were far away, joining in the simpler service of the synagogue of their fathers, and in their secret chambers the usages of the Law were observed with the fond stealth of old attachment. To discover how widely Jewish practices still prevailed, nothing was necessary but to ascend a hill on their Sabbath, and look down on the town or village below: scarce half the chimneys would be seen to smoke; all that did not, were evidently those of the people who still feared to profane the holy day by lighting a fire.

The clergy summoned to their assistance that stern and irresistible ally—the Inquisition. This dread tribunal had already signalized its zeal by the extermination of the Albigenses, and the desolation of the beautiful province of Languedoc. Alphonso ~~di~~ Goyeda, prior of the Dominicans in Seville, urged the monarchs to bless their kingdom by the

erection of a similar office, that the whole realm might be reduced to the unity of the faith. Ferdinand hesitated from worldly wisdom, Isabella from gentleness of heart. But the fatal bull was obtained from the Pope Sextus the Fourth, empowering the monarchs to nominate certain of the clergy, above forty years of age, to make strict inquisition into all persons suspected of heretical gravity. In this evil hour, a work was published by some misguided Jew, reflecting on the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, probably on the Christian religion. It was answered by Ferdinand of Talavera, the queen's confessor, who thus acquired new influence unfavourable to the Jews, over the vacillating mind of the queen. In September, 1480, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were named Inquisitors. Even the cortes beheld with reluctance—the very populace with terror—the establishment of this dreadful tribunal; and, as it were, to enlist still worse passions in the cause, a third of the property of all condemned heretics was confiscated to the use of the Holy Office; another third was assigned for the expenses of the trial—the last third went to the crown. The tribunal established its head-quarters at Seville, and assumed at once a lofty tone; denouneing vengeance against all, even the highest nobles—the dukes of Medina, Sidonia, the marquis of Cadiz, and the count d'Areos, into whose domains many of the new Christians had fled—if they should presume to shelter offenders from their justice. The dreadful work began—victims crowded the prisons. The conveni was not sufficiently spacious for their business, and the Inquisitors moved to the Castel de Triana, near Seville. Secret denunciations were encouraged—not to denounce was a crime worthy of death. The Inquisitors published an edict of grace, inviting all who sincerely repented of their apostacy to manifest their repentance; in which case they might escape

the confiscation of their property, and receive absolution. If they allowed the time of grace to elapse, they incurred the severest penalties of the law. Many came in and surrendered, but a dreadful oath was extorted from them to inform against their more criminal brethren. In one year, 280 were burned in Seville alone; 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in their loathsome cells—17,000 suffered lighter punishments. A spot of ground was set apart near this beautiful city, not for the innocent amusement of the people, nor even for their more barbarous, yet manly, bull fights, but as the Quemadero, the place of burning. It contained four statues, called the four Prophets, to which the unhappy victims were bound. The diagnostics of this fatal disease of new Christianity were specified with nice minuteness. There were twenty-seven symptoms of the disorder. Among these (we have not space to recite the whole), were the expectation of the Messiah—the hope of justification by the law of Moses—reverence for the Sabbath shown by wearing better clothes, or not lighting a fire—observing any usage of their forefathers relating to meats—honouring the national fasts or festivals—rejoicing on the feast of Esther, or bewailing the fall of Jerusalem on the 9th of August—singing psalms in Hebrew without the *Gloria Patri*—using any of the rites, not merely of circumcision, but those which accompanied it—of marriage or of burial—even of interring the dead in the burying place of their forefathers. Mariaua himself, the Spanish historian, while he justifies the measure by its success, ventures to express the general terror and amazement of the whole people, that children were thus visited for the offences of their forefathers—that, contrary to the practice of all tribunals, the criminal was not informed of the name of his accuser, nor confronted with the witnesses—that death should be the punishment awarded for such

offences—and that informers should be encouraged to lurk in every city or village, and listen to every careless conversation;—"a state of things, as some thought, not less grievous than slavery, or even than death." The ministers of confiscation and execution spread through Spain; many of the new Christians fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa. Some, condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the too-celebrated Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. Its powers were extended to Arragon; but the high-spirited nobles of that kingdom did not submit to its laws without a resolute contest—for many of those who held the highest offices were descended from the new Christians. The cortes appealed to the king and to the Pope, particularly against the article which confiscated the property of the criminals—contrary, as they asserted, to the laws of Arragon. While their appeal was pending, the Inquisitors proceeded to condemn several new Christians. The pride of the nation took fire; an extensive conspiracy was organized; and the Inquisitor Arbues was assassinated in the cathedral of Saragossa. But the effects of this daring act were fatal, instead of advantageous, to the new Christians. The horror of the crime was universal. The old Christians shrank from their share in the conspiracy, and left their confederates to bear all the odium and the penalty of the atrocious deed. The Inquisitors proceeded to exact a frightful retribution. Two hundred victims perished. Many of the no-

blest families were degraded by beholding some one of their members bearing the *san-benito*, as confessed and pardoned heretics. Though their chief victims were selected from those who were suspected of secret Judaism, yet the slightest taint of Judaism in the blood, and among the Arragonese nobility this was by no means rare, was sufficient to excite the suspicion, and, if possible, the vengeance of the Inquisitors.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their forefathers. Their pusillanimous dereliction of the God of Abraham had met with severe, though just, retribution, while those who, with more steadfast hearts, had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict, commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Grenada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanour, no reluctance to contribute to the public burthens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisoning of their patients by Jewish physicians. The Jews made an ineffectual effort to avert their fate. Abarbanel, a man of the greatest learning, the boast of the present race of Jews, and of unblemished reputation, threw

himself at the feet of the king and queen, and offered in the name of his nation an immense sum to recruit the finances of the kingdom, exhausted by the wars of Grenada. The Inquisitors were alarmed. Against all feelings of humanity and justice the royal hearts were steeled, but the appeal to their interests might be more effectual. Thomas de Torquemada advanced into the royal presence, bearing a crucifix. "Behold," he said, "him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before God."

The sovereigns trembled before the stern Dominican, and the Jews had no alternative but baptism or exile. For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. Yet there were few examples of weakness or apostacy: the whole race—variously calculated at 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000—in a lofty spirit of self-devotion, (we envy not that mind which cannot appreciate its real greatness,) determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers. They left the homes of their youth, the scenes of their early associations, the sacred graves of their ancestors, the more recent tombs of their own friends and relatives. They left the synagogues in which they had so long worshipped their God; the schools where those wise men had taught, who had thrown a lustre which shone, even through the darkness of the age, upon the Hebrew name. They were allowed four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harbouring a Jew after that period.

They were permitted to carry away their moveables, excepting gold and silver, for which they were to accept letters of change, or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant, to wring from their distress the hardest terms. A contemporary author states, that he saw Jews give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Yet many of them concealed their gold and jewels in their clothes and saddles; some swallowed them, in hopes thus at least to elude the scrutiny of the officers. The Jews consider this calamity almost as dreadful as the taking and ruin of Jerusalem. For whither to fly? and where to find a more hospitable shore? Incidents, which make the blood run cold, are related of the miseries which they suffered. Some of those from Arragon found their way into Navarre; others to the seashore, where they set sail for Italy, or the coast of Morocco; others crossed the frontier into Portugal. "Many of the former were cast away, or sunk," says a Jewish writer, "like lead, into the ocean." On board the ship, which was conveying a great number to Africa, the plague broke out. The captain ascribed the infection to his circumcised passengers, and set them all on shore, on a desert coast, without provisions. They dispersed: one, a father, saw his beautiful wife perish before his eyes—fainted himself with exhaustion—and waking, beheld his two children dead by his side. A few made their way to a settlement of the Jews. Some reached the coast of Genoa, but they bore famine with them; they lay perishing on the shore,—the clergy approached with the crucifix in one hand and provisions in the other,—nature was too strong for faith—they yielded, and were baptized. In Rome they were received with the utmost inhospitality by their own brethren, fearful that the increased numbers

would bring evil on the community: even the profligate heart of Alexander the Sixth was moved with indignation,—he commanded the resident Jews to evacuate the country; they bought the revocation of the edict at a considerable price. Those who reached Fez were not permitted to enter the town: the king, though by no means unfriendly, dreaded the famine they might cause among his own subjects. They were encamped on the sand, suffering all the miseries of hunger; living on the roots they dug up, or the grass of the field, “happy,” says our Jewish authority, “if the grass had been plentiful:” yet, even in this state, they religiously avoided the violation of the Sabbath by plucking the grass with their hands; they grovelled on their knees, and cropped it with their teeth. Worse than all, they were exposed to the most wanton barbarities of the savage people. An Arab violated a maiden before her parents’ face—returned and stabbed her to the heart, lest he should have begotten a child infected with the Jewish faith. Another woman, unable to bear the sight of her pining child in his agony, struck him dead to the earth with a large stone. Many sold their children for bread. The king of the country afterward declared all such children free. A pirate of Sallee allured a number of youths—one hundred and fifty—on board his ship, with the promise of provisions—and, amid the shrieks of the parents on the shore, set sail, and sold his booty in some distant port. Another party were cast out, by a barbarous captain of a ship, naked and desolate, on the African coast: the first, who ascended a hill to survey the country, were devoured by wild beasts, who came howling down upon the rest of the miserable crew. They plunged into the sea, and stood shivering in the water till the wild beasts retreated; they then crept back to the beach. For five days they remained in this miserable plight, and were rescued by the humane activity of the

captain of another vessel, who sent his boat to their relief.

But these were the acts of savage barbarians or lawless pirates. In Portugal they trusted to the faith of kings. They offered to Joam II. a large sum, for permission to enter his kingdom. The more intolerant of his advisers urged him to refuse all terms; but the poverty of the king triumphed over his bigotry. They were admitted at the price of eight crusados a head—children at the breast alone excepted. The frontier was lined with toll-gatherers, and they were permitted to enter only at particular places. They were merely to pass through the country, and embark for Africa; with the exception of artificers in brass and iron, who were to enter at half-price, and, if they chose, might remain. They brought the plague with them, and many lay perishing by the way side. Eight months elapsed, and many still lingered in the country—either too poor to obtain a passage, or terrified by the tales of horrid cruelty inflicted on their brethren by the Moors. All these were made slaves—the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonize the unwholesome island of St. Thomas. The new king, Emmanuel, commenced his reign with a hopeful act of mercy: he enfranchised the slaves—he seemed inclined to protect the resident Jews within his realm. But he wedded the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and brought home a dowry of cruelty and intolerance. The son-in-law must follow the example of his parents: he deserved to win their favour by surpassing them even in their own barbarity. He named a day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms—the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as

Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put in execution. Great God of Mercy, this was in the name of Christianity! frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers,—they destroyed them with their own hands; but, though stilled in the heart of the monarch, the voice of Nature still spoke in that of the people, however bigoted. They assisted the Jews to conceal their children. By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports which had been named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken: on condition that they might receive back their children, and that government would not scrutinize their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. Yet most of these were reserved, if possible, for a more dreadful fate. About ten years after, some of them were detected celebrating the Passover; this inflamed the popular resentment against them. In this state of the public mind, it happened that a monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed—the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. While the devout multitude were listening in blind devotion, one man alone was seen to smile, he had, in fact, discovered a lamp behind the mysterious crucifix. In a rash moment, he dropped the ineptuous expression, that if God would manifest himself by water (the year had been unusually dry and sultry) rather than by fire, it would be for the public advantage. The scandalized multitude recognised in the infidel speaker a new Christian. They rushed upon him, dragged him by the hair into the market-place, and there murdered him. His brother stood wailing over the body—he instantly shared his fate. From

every quarter the Dominicans rushed forth with crucifixes in their hands, crying out, "Revenge, revenge! down with the heretics; root them out; exterminate them." A Jewish authority asserts, that they offered to every one who should murder a Jew, that his sufferings in purgatory should be limited to a hundred days. The houses of the converts were assailed; men, women, and children involved in a promiscuous massacre—even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred reliques, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent: on his return he put on great indignation. The ringleaders of the riot were punished; and the new Christians, who escaped, became for the future more cautious. Yet in the peninsula, Judaism still lurked in the depth of many hearts, inaccessible even to the searching scrutiny of the Inquisition. Secret Jews are said to have obtained the highest offices of the state, and even of the Church; to have worn the cowl of the monk, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. The celebrated Jewish physician, Orobio, stated that he had personal knowledge of many of his brethren who thus eluded the keen eye of the blood-hounds of the Holy Office. How deep a wound was inflicted on the national prosperity by this act of "the most Christian sovereign" cannot easily be calculated; but it may be reckoned among the most effective causes of the decline of Spanish greatness.

BOOK XXVII.

FALSE MESSIAHS.

Jews in Turkey—In Italy—Invention of Printing—Reformation—Luther—Holland—Negotiation with Cromwell—Messiahs—Sabbatian Sevi—Frank.

PROSCRIBED in so many kingdoms of Europe, the Jews again found shelter under the protection of the crescent. In the north of Africa, the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaites as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of this region; in many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and among these hordes of fierce pirates and savage Moors, their character and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the region. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim, (A. C. 1020,) which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterward to have dwelt in peace: Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain. 50,000 are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescends to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks are Yeshir, slaves,—they hold their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir or visitors. They settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi. Here the Rabbinical dominion was re-established in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination

was re-enacted; and R. Berab entertained some hopes of re-establishing the Patriarchate of Tiberias. The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand, organizing their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and labouring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge, which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant. Their success in this important branch of commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. As early as 1400, the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town in Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. They were established in Verona, Genoa, Pisa, Parma, Mantua, Pavia, Padua, Sienna, Bassano, Faenza, Florence, Cremona, Aquila, Ancona, Leghorn,* besides their head-quarters at Rome. Their chief trade, however, was money-lending; in which, at least with the lower classes, they seem to have held a successful contest against their old rivals, the Lombard bankers. An amiable enthusiast, Bernardino of Feltre, moved to see the whole people groaning under their extortions, endeavoured to preach a crusade, not against their religion, but against their usury; though the effect was, in many places, to raise the populace against the Jews. He attempted to enforce the doctrines of his sermons by active measures of benevolence—the establishment of banks on a more moderate rate of interest for the accommodation of the poor, called Mounts of Piety—Monti di Pieta. He met with great success in many towns; in Mantua, Monselice, Montefiore, Rimini,

* At a later period (under the Medici) it became a proverb in Leghorn, that a man might as well strike the grand duke as a Jew.

and Brescia: in Padua he forced the Jews to close their banks, from whence they had drawn an enormous profit. But the people were either so deeply implicated with their usurious masters, so much the slaves of habit, or so much repressed by the honest shame of poverty, as to prefer secret though more disadvantageous dealings with the Jews, to the publicity required in these new banks. The scheme languished, and in many places speedily expired.

The conduct of the Popes varied, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the pontiff. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth deprived them of one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to interrupt their amicable relations with the Christians: they were prohibited from eating and drinking together: Jews were excluded from almost every profession, were forced to wear a badge, to pay tithes; and Christians were forbidden to bequeath legacies to Jews. The succeeding Popes were more wise or more humane. In Naples, the celebrated Abarbanel became the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard and Alphonso the Second; they experienced a reverse, and were expelled from that city by Charles the Fifth. The stern and haughty Pope, Paul the Fourth, renewed the hostile edicts; he endeavoured to embarrass their traffic, by regulations which prohibited them from disposing of their pledges under eighteen months; deprived them of the trade in corn and in every other necessary of life, but left them the privilege of dealing in old clothes. Paul first shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were prohibited from appearing after sunset. Pius the Fourth relaxed the severity of his predecessor. He enlarged the Ghetto, and removed the restrictions on their commerce. Pius the Fifth expelled them from every city in the papal territory, except Rome and Ancona; he endured them in those cities with the avowed

design of preserving their commerce with the East. Gregory the Thirteenth pursued the same course; a bull was read, and suspended at the gate of the Jews' quarter, prohibiting the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ, or ridicule against the ceremonies of the Church. All Jews, above twelve years old, were bound to appear at the regular sermons delivered for their conversion; where, it does not seem, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope, and the eloquence of the Cardinals, that their behaviour was very edifying. At length the bold and statesman-like Sextus the Fifth annulled at once all the persecuting or vexatious regulations of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in the ecclesiastical dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.

The great events of this period—the invention and rapid progress of printing, and the Reformation—could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning, by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth, and the respect of the learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of Rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study. A strong effort was made by struggling bigotry to suppress all these works, which a pusillanimous faith knew to be hostile, and therefore considered dangerous, to the Christian religion. One Pfeffercorn earnestly persuaded the emperor Maximilian to order the entire destruction

of all books printed by the Jews. The celebrated Capnio, or Reuchlin (such are the names by which he is best known), interfered; he abandoned certain books, which contained offensive blasphemies against the Redeemer, the Nizzachon, and the Toldoth Jesu, to the zeal of his antagonist; but pleaded, and not without success, the cause of the sounder and more useful parts of Jewish learning.

The Reformation affected the people of Israel rather in its remote than in its immediate consequences. It found the Jews spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still liable to the arbitrary caprice of the petty sovereigns or free cities* of the empire; but we have no space to enlarge on the oppressions of the landgrave of Thuringia; the popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Worms; the expulsion of the Jews from the mark of Brandenburgh. Excluded from one city or state, they found refuge in another, till the storm blew over; wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending, and the sale of gold trinkets and jewelry, they opened larger branches of traffic: in Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn trade of that kingdom.

The tone in which Luther spoke of the Jews varied, as on many other points not immediately connected with his main object, according to the period of his life, and the light in which he viewed the race. As sordid usurers he detested them, and at first he seems to have approved of violent means of conversion; but at a later period he spoke of them with humane consideration rather than anger, and reprobated all means of attempting their conversion, except those of gentleness and Christian love. It was partly by affording new and more

* In many cities the residents were subject to an oppressive tax; and all foreign Jews were liable to a toll on entering the gates. These municipal regulations are not yet, we believe, entirely abrogated.

dangerous enemies to the power of the Church, that the Reformation ameliorated the condition of the Jews: they were forgotten or overlooked in the momentous conflict; but to a much greater extent, by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate, fruits of this great revolution in the European world. The bitterness of religious hatred was gradually assuaged; active animosity settled down into quiet aversion; the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character, justified perhaps by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of many of the lower orders, who alone came in contact with the mass of the people, rather than revengeful antipathy towards the descendants of those who crucified the Redeemer, and who, by their obstinate unbelief, inherited the guilt of their forefathers.

During the thirty years' war, the Jews assisted with great valour in the defence of Prague, and obtained the protection and favour of the grateful emperor. Before this, the Reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit—the opening of the free cities of Holland, where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic. The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

From Holland they long looked for some favourable opportunity which might open the exchange, the marts, and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though, no doubt, often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal. It was not till the Protectorate of Cromwell, that the Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal

re-establishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice co-operating with the aversion of a large part of the nation towards the government, gave rise to the most absurd rumours of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was bruited abroad, and widely believed, that they had offered 500,000 pounds on condition of obtaining St. Paul's church for their synagogue, and the Bodleian library to begin business with; Harry Martin and Hugh Peters were designated as the profane or fanatic advisers of this strange bargain. Another equally ridiculous story was propagated of certain Asiatic Jews, who sent a deputation to inquire whether Cromwell was not the Messiah, and went to Huntingdon with the ostensible design of buying the Hebrew books belonging to the University of Cambridge, but with the real object of searching the Protector's pedigree, to find whether he could claim Jewish descent. The plain fact was this—a physician of great learning and estimation among the Jews, Manasseh Ben Israel, presented a petition to the Protector for the readmission of his countrymen to the realm. The address was drawn with eloquence and skill—it commenced by recognising the hand of God in the appointment of Cromwell to the throne, it dexterously insinuated the instability of all governments unfavourable to the Jews, and it asserted the general joy with which the ambassadors of the republic had been received in the synagogues of the Jews. Manasseh Ben Israel issued a second address to the commonwealth of England. It complimented the general humanity of the nation, stated his sole object to be the establishment of a synagogue in the kingdom, it adroitly endeavoured to interest the religious enthusiasm of the nation on his side, by declaring his conviction, that the restoration of Israel, and of course the Last Day, was at hand; it did not neglect the temporal advantages of the worldly, the ^{acts} to be derived from their traffic.

and concluded with expressing his sincere attachment to a commonwealth, abounding in so many men of piety and learning. Whether moved by one or all these reasons, Cromwell summoned an assembly of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines, to debate the question, first, whether it was lawful to admit the Jews; secondly, if lawful, on what terms it was expedient to admit them. The lawyers decided at once on the legality; the citizens were divided; but the contest among the divines was so long and so inconclusive, that Oliver grew weary, and the question was adjourned to a more favourable opportunity. It is a curious fact of the times, that so far were some of the republican writers from hostility to the Jews, that Harrington, in his *Oceana*, gravely proposes disburthening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his courtiers quietly accomplished that change which Cromwell had not dared openly to venture. The convenient Jews stole insensibly into the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their footing, and probably contributed their fair proportion to the national wealth.

We have not thought it expedient to interrupt the course of our history with the account of every adventurer who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended, nevertheless, to keep alive the ardent belief of the nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force

of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity, which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. “Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah’s coming,” was constantly repeated in the synagogue, but as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck, but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community. A long list of false Messiahs might be produced—in France, in Fez, in Persia, in Moravia; but their career was so short, and their adventures so inseparably moulded up with fiction, that we have passed them by. But there was one who appeared in more enlightened days, in the middle of the seventeenth century, who demands a more extended notice. This man formed a considerable sect, which, notwithstanding that the conduct of its founder might, it would have seemed, have disabused the most blind and frantic enthusiasm—long existed and still continues to exist.

In the year 1655, a certain Samuel Brett published a Narrative of a great Meeting of Jewish Rabbins in the plain of Ageda, about thirty miles from Buda, in Hungary, to discuss their long-baffled hopes of the Messiah, and to consider the prophetic passages applied by Christian writers to their Redeemer. The author declared himself an eye-witness of the pomp of this extraordinary general assembly, where 300 Rabbins pitched their tents, and gravely debated, for seven days, this solemn question. But the authority of Samuel Brett is far from exceptionable. The Jews, particularly Manasseh Ben Israel, disclaim the whole transaction as a groundless fiction. Many circumstances of the narrative—the setting Pharisees and Sadducees in array against each other, and the manifest design of the whole to throw odium on the Church of Rome—concur in inducing us entirely to reject the story.

But a few years after the date of this real or fictitious event, in 1666, the whole Jewish world, coextensive almost with the globe itself, was raised to the highest degree of excitement by the intelligence of the appearance and rapid progress of a youth, who had appeared in Smyrna, and assumed the name and authority of the Messiah. Sabbathai Sevi was the younger son of Mordechai Sevi, who first followed the mean trade of a poultorer at Smyrna, afterward became broker to some English merchants. He was born in A. C. 1625. Sabbathai was sent to school, where he made such rapid progress in the Cabala, that in his eighteenth year he was appointed a Hachim or Rabbi : he even then had many followers among the youth, and indeed among the elders of the place, with whom he practised rigid fasts, and bathed perpetually in the sea. At twenty years old he married a woman of great beauty and rank among his people, but declined all conjugal connexion with her. The father cited him for this neglect of his duty : he was forced to give a bill of divorce. A second time he married ; and a second time, on the same plea, the marriage was dissolved. Sabbathai announced that "the voice from heaven" assured him that neither of these were the meet and appointed partners of his life. His partisans asserted that he was actuated by a holy desire of triumphing over human passion ; his enemies gave a different turn to the affair : still his fame increased. He sometimes fasted from Sabbath to Sabbath, and bathed till his life was endangered : yet his beauty, which was exquisite, seemed daily to increase. His whole body was said to breathe a delicious odour, which the physician of the family, suspecting to be perfume, declared, on examination, to be a natural exhalation from the skin. He now began to preach and announce himself openly as the Son of David, and had the boldness to utter, in proof of his divine mission, the ineffable name, Jehovah. The offended

Rabbins, horror-struck at this double crime, declared him worthy of death, and denounced him before the Turkish tribunal. Sabbathai took refuge in Thessalonica. There the Rabbins again rose against him. He fled to Egypt: thence to Jerusalem. As he passed by Gaza, he made an important proselyte, named Nathan Benjamin, who, admitted trembling to his presence, declared, by the great Almighty and dreadful God, that he had seen the Lord in his cherub-borne chariot, as Ezekiel of old, with the ten Sephiroth, murinuring around him like the waves of the sea: a voice came forth—*‘Your Redeemer is come; his name is Sabbathai Sevi; he shall go forth as a mighty one, inflamed with wrath as a warrior; he shall cry, he shall roar, he shall prevail against his enemies.’** In Jerusalem Sabbathai preached and proclaimed himself the Messiah with such success, that the Rabbins trembled before him; and the Elias of the new sect, Nathan of Gaza, had the audacity to issue an address to the brethren of Israel, in which he declared that before long the Messiah would reveal himself, and seize the crown from the head of the sultan, who would follow him like a slave. After residing thirteen years in Jerusalem, Sabbathai made a second expedition to Egypt, where he married again, by the account of his enemies, a woman of light character—by that of his partisans, a maiden designated as his bride by the most surprising miracles. She was the daughter of a Polish Jew made captive by some marauding Muscovites. At eighteen years of age she was suddenly seized from her bed by the ghost of her dead father, set down in a burying place of the Jews, where she was found—told her story, and declared that she was the appointed bride of the Messiah. She was sent to her brother in Amsterdam; thence to Egypt. After passing three years more in Jerusalem, Sabo

* Isaiah xlvi. 13.

thai went openly into the synagogue, and proclaimed himself the Messiah. A violent commotion took place; the Rabbins launched their interdict against him: he fled to his native place, Smyrna. There the ban pursued him; but the people received him with rapture. One Anakia, a Jew of high rank, denounced him on the Exchange as an impostor. The unbeliever returned to his home, fell from his chair, and died: this singular accident was at once recognised as from the hand of God. The Rabbins feared to pursue their interdict, Sabbathai assumed a royal pomp; a banner was borne before him with the words "The right hand of the Lord is uplifted." He divided among his partisans the kingdoms of the earth: he named his two brothers kings of Judah and Israel: he himself took the title of king of the kings of the earth. One man of high rank nearly lost his life for opposing the prevailing delusion. The head of the Rabbins was degraded: the vice-president openly espoused the party.

The fame of Sabbathai spread throughout the world. In Poland, in Germany, in Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, the course of business was interrupted on the Exchange, by the gravest Jews breaking off to discuss this wonderful transaction. From Amsterdam inquiries were sent to their commercial agents in the Levant; they received the brief and emphatic answet, "'T is he and no other." In the mean time, rich presents were poured into the court of Sabbathai, and embassies were sent from the different communities of the Jews: some of these were detained three or four weeks before they could obtain an audience. His picture was surmounted by a crown of gold; the twenty-first Psalm was sung before him, and a public prayer offered in the synagogue, in which he was acknowledged as the Messiah. In all parts, as if to accomplish the memorable words of Joel, prophets and prophetesses appeared

—men and women, youths and maidens, in Samaria, Adrianople, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and in other places, fell to the earth, or went raving about in prophetic raptures, exclaiming, it was said, in Hebrew, of which before they knew not a word, “Sabbathai Sevi is the true Messiah of the race of David, to him the crown and the kingdom are given.” Even the daughters of his bitterest opponent, R. Pechina, were seized, as Sabbathai had predicted, with the same phrensy, and burst out in rapturous acknowledgment of the Messiah in the Hebrew language, which they had never learned. One wealthy Israelite, of Constantinople, more cautious than the rest, apprehending that this phrensy would bring some dreadful persecution against the Jews, went to the grand vizier, and requested a certificate that he had never been a believer in the Messiah. This reached the ears of the partisans of Sabbathai; they accused their crafty opponent of treasonable designs against the Turks, brought forward false witnesses, and the over-cautious unbeliever was sentenced to the galleys. Among the Persian Jews the excitement was so great, that the husbandmen refused to labour in the fields. The governor, a man, it should seem, of unusual mildness, remonstrated with them for thus abandoning their work instead of endeavouring to pay their tribute. “Sir,” they answered, with one voice, “we shall pay no more tribute, our Deliverer is come.” The governor bound them in an obligation, to which they readily acceded, to pay 200 tomans, if the Messiah did not appear within three months. But Sabbathai had now advanced too far to recede—his partisans were clamorous for his passing over to Constantinople, to confront the grand seignior. He arrived, escorted by a vast number of his friends, and was received with the loudest acclamations by the Jews of Constantinople. The sultan was absent; he demanded an audience of the grand vizier. The vizier delayed

ill he had received instructions from his master. The sultan sent orders that Sabbathai should be seized and kept in safe custody. The grand vizier despatched an aga and some janissaries to the dwelling of Sabbathai; but the superstitious aga was so overawed by the appearance of Sabbathai, "bright," he said, "as an angel," that he returned trembling and confounded to his master. Another aga was sent, and returned in the same manner. Sabbathai, however, surrendered himself of his own accord; he was committed to the castle of Sestos, as a sort of honourable prison, where his partisans had free access to him. From thence he issued a manifesto suspending the fast religiously kept on the 9th of August, on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and ordered the day to be celebrated with the utmost festivity, as the birthday of the Messiah, Sabbathai Sevi. In Sestos he admitted a deputation from Poland into his presence, whom he astonished with his profound knowledge and ready application of the Cabala. But there was in Constantinople one stubborn unbeliever, named Nehemiah, who for three days resisted all the arguments of the Messiah, and at the end, openly proclaimed him an impostor. The partisans of Sabbathai rose in the utmost fury; and, when Sabbathai threatened his opponent with death, rushed forward to put his mandate in execution. The Rabbi burst out of the chamber, and fled, pursued by the adherents of Sabbathai—escape was hopeless, when he suddenly seized a turban from the head of a Turk, placed it on his own, and cried aloud, "I am a Moslem"—the Turks instantly took him under their protection, and he was sent to Adrianople to the sultan, who summoned Sabbathai to his presence. Sabbathai stood before the grand seignior; he was ignorant of Turkish, and a Jewish renegade was appointed as interpreter. But the man, before whom the awe-struck agas had trembled, now before the majesty of the sultan, in his

turn, totally lost his presence of mind; when the sultan demanded whether he was the Messiah, he stood in trembling silence, and made no answer. He had some reason for his apprehensions, for the sultan made him the following truly Turkish proposal—“That he should shoot three poisoned arrows at the Messiah: if he proved invulnerable, he would himself own his title. If he refused to submit to this ordeal, he had his choice, to be put to death, or to embrace Mahometanism.” The interpreter urged him to accept the latter alternative:— Sabbathai did not hesitate long, he seized a turban from a page, and uttered the irrevocable words, “I am a Mussulman.” The grand seignior, instead of dismissing him with contempt, ordered him a pelisse of honour, named him Aga Mahomet Effendi; and gave him the title of capidgi basha. Conternation at this strange intelligence spread through the followers of Sabbathai; prophets and prophetesses were silent, but Sabbathai was daunted only by the death-denouncing countenance of the sultan. He issued an address to his brethren in Israel. “I Mahomet, capidgi basha, make it known unto you, that God hath changed me from an Israelite to an Ismaelite. He spake, and it was done; he ordered, and it was fulfilled. Given in the ninth day of my renewal according to his holy will.” He most ingeniously extracted prophetic intimations of his change both from tradition and Scripture. In the book called Pirke Elieser it was written, “that the Messiah must remain some time among the unbelievers.” From the Scripture the example of Moses was alleged, who “dwelt among the Ethiopians;” and the text of Isaiah, “he was numbered among the transgressors.” For some time, he maintained his double character with great success, honoured by the Moslemites as a true believer, by the Jews as their Messiah. Many of the latter followed his example and embraced Islamism. St. Croix had

frequently heard him preach in the synagogue, and with so much success, that scarcely a day passed but Jews seized the turbans from the heads of the Turks, and declared themselves Mussulmen. His Polish wife died; he again married the daughter of a learned man, who was excommunicated, on account of the unlawful connexion, by the Rabbins. She also embraced Islamism. At length the Rabbins, dreading the total extinction of Judaism, succeeded in gaining the ear of the sultan. The Messiah was seized, and confined in a castle near Belgrade, where he died of a colic in the year 1676, in the fifty-first year of his age.

It might have been expected that his sect, if it survived his apostacy, at least would have expired with his death; but there is no calculating the obstinacy of human credulity: his followers gave out that he was transported to heaven like Enoch and Elijah; and notwithstanding the constant and active opposition of the Jewish priesthood, the sect spread in all quarters. His forerunner, Nathan of Gaza, had abandoned his cause on his embracing Islamism, and prophesied against him in Italy and Corfu. But it is the most extraordinary fact of all, that Nehemiah, his most vehement opponent, recanted his enforced Islamism, and, after all, embraced Sabbathiasm. A prophet of Smyrna proclaimed, that the Messiah would reappear in $111\frac{1}{3}$ years. But the doctrine of Michael Cardoso, which spread rapidly from Fez to Tripoli, and even to Egypt, was the most extravagant—the Son of David, he said, would not appear till all Israel were either holy or wicked—as the latter was far the easier process, he recommended all true Israelites to accelerate the coming of the Messiah, by apostatizing to Mahometanism—numbers with pious zeal complied with this advice. Sabbathiasm still exists as a sect of Judaism; though, probably, among most of its believers, rather supported by that corporate spirit which holds

the followers of a political or religious faction together, than by any distinct and definite articles of belief.

But in the middle of the last century, an extraordinary adventurer, named Frank, organized a sect out of the wrecks of the Sabbathaic party; it assumed the name of Zoharites, and its founder astonished the whole of Germany, by living in a style of oriental magnificence, encircled by a retinue of obsequious adherents, while no one knew, or knows to this day, the source of the vast wealth with which the state of the man was maintained during his life, and his sumptuous funeral conducted after his death. The new creed leaned towards Christianity, rather than Islamism. It rejected the Talmud, but insisted on a hidden sense in the Scriptures. It admitted the Trinity and the incarnation of the Deity, but preserved an artful ambiguity as to the person in whom the Deity was incarnate, whether Jesus Christ or Sabbathai Sevi. As, however, the great head of this sect, Frank, afterward openly embraced Christianity, and attended mass, he scarcely belongs to our History: suffice it to say, that this adventurer lived in Vienna, in Brune, and in Offenbach, with a retinue of several hundred beautiful Jewish youth of both sexes; carts containing treasure were reported to be perpetually brought in to him, chiefly from Poland—he went out daily in great state to perform his devotions in the open field—he rode in a chariot drawn by noble horses, ten or twelve hulans in red and green uniform, glittering with gold, rode by his side, with pikes in their hands, and crests in their caps, of eagles, or stags, or the sun and moon. Water was always carefully poured over the place where he had paid his devotions. He proceeded in the same pomp to church, where his behaviour was peculiar but grave and solemn. His followers believed him immortal, but in 1791 he died; his burial was as

splendid as his mode of living—800 persons followed him to the grave. But with his body the secret of his wealth was interred; his family sank into a state of want—and almost beggary. In vain they appealed to the credulity, to the charity, of their brethren; they fell into insignificance, and were obliged to submit to the ordinary labours of mortal life.

BOOK XXVIII.

MODERN JUDAISM.

Change in the relative State of the Jews to the Rest of Mankind—Jews in Poland—In Germany—Frederick the Great—Naturalization Bill in England—Toleration Edict of Joseph II.—Jews of France—Petition to Louis XVI.—Revolution—Buonaparte—More recent Acts for the Amelioration of the civil State of the Jews—General Estimate of the Number of Jews in Africa, Asia, Europe, America—Conclusion.

WE have followed the sect of Sabbathai and his followers to the close of the eighteenth century; we must retrace our steps, and terminate our labours by a rapid sketch of the more important events which influenced the condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, during that period, down to our own days. The lapse of centuries, and the slow improvement in almost the whole state of society, had made a material alteration in the relative position of the Jews towards the rest of mankind. They were still, many of them, wealthy; but their wealth no longer bore so invidious and dangerous a proportion to that of the community at large, as to tempt unprincipled kings, or a burthened people, to fill their exchequer, or revenge themselves for a long arrear of usurious exactation, by the spoliation of this unprotected race. A milder spirit of Christian forbearance with some, of religious indifference with others, allayed the fierce spirit of animosity, which now, instead of bursting forth at every opportunity, was slowly and with difficulty excited and forced to a violent explosion. Still, in the midst of society, the Jews dwelt apart, excluded by ancient laws from most of the civil offices, by general prejudice and by their own tacit consent from the common intercourse of life; they were

endured because mankind had become habituated to their presence, rather than tolerated on any liberal principles, still less courted by any overtures for mutual amity. The Jew was contented with this cessation of hostilities; he had obtained a truce, he sought not for a treaty of alliance. Where commercial restrictions were removed, he either did not feel, or disdained, civil disqualifications. So long as he retained, unmolested, the independent government of his own little world, he left to the Gentiles to administer the politics of the kingdoms of the earth. If he might be permitted to live as a peaceful merchant, he aspired not to become statesman, magistrate, or soldier. So that the equal law protected him in the acquisition and possession of personal property, he had no great desire to invest his wealth in land, or to exchange the unsettled and enterprising habits of trade for the more slow returns and laborious profits of agriculture. He demanded no more than to be secured from the active enmity of mankind; his pride set him above their contempt. Like the haughty Roman, banished from the world, the Israelite threw back the sentence of banishment, and still retreated to the lofty conviction that his race was not excluded as an unworthy, but kept apart as a sacred, people; humiliated indeed, but still hallowed, and reserved for the sure, though tardy, fulfilment of the divine promises. The lofty feeling of having endured and triumphed over centuries of intolerable wrong, mingled with the splendid recollections of the past, and the hopes of the future, which were sedulously inculcated by their Rabbinical instructors; and thus their exclusion from the communities of the world, from the honours and privileges of social life, was felt by those who were high-minded enough to feel at all, rather as a distinction than a disgrace. This at once compelled that voluntary unsocialness which was still the universal national characteristic of the

Jews: yet in process of time they became in some degree assimilated to the nations among whom they lived; their relative state of civilization materially depended on the manners of the surrounding people, and there was nearly as great a difference between the depressed and ignorant Jew of Persia, the fierce fanatic of Barbary or Constantinople, and his opulent and enlightened brethren of Hamburg or Amsterdam, as between the Mussulman and Christian population of the different countries. The dominion of the Rabbins was universally recognised, except among the Karaites, whose orderly and simple congregations were frequent in the East, in the Crimea, in Poland, even in Africa. Rabbinism was still the strong hold, and the source of the general stubborn fanaticism; yet even this stern priesthood, which ruled with its ancient despotism in more barbarous Poland, either lost its weight, or was constrained to accommodate itself to the spirit of the age, in the west of Europe.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland and the adjacent provinces had for some time been the head-quarters of the Jews. As early as the fourteenth century, their privileges had been secured by Casimir the Great, who was deeply enamoured of a Jewish mistress. In that kingdom they formed the only middle order between the nobles and the serfs. Almost every branch of traffic was in their hands. They were the corn merchants, shopkeepers, inn-keepers; in some towns they formed the greater part of the population, in some villages almost the whole. Poland was likewise the seat of the Rabbinical papacy. The Talmud ruled supreme in the public mind; the synagogues obeyed with implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly conducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition.* In the west of Europe, in the mean

* A mystic sect, the Zaddikim or Chassidim, have made rapid progress since the year 1740, among the Jews in Russian Poland.

time, those great changes were slowly preparing, which before the close of the century were to disorganize the whole framework of society. The new opinions not merely altered the political condition of the Jews, as well as that of almost all orders of men; but they penetrated into the very sanctuary of Judaism, and threatened to shake the dominion of the Rabbins, as they had that of the Christian priesthood, to its basis. It is singular, however, that the first of these daring innovators, who declared war alike against ancient prejudices and the most sacred principles, excluded the Jews from the wide pale of their philanthropy. The old, bitter, and contemptuous antipathy against the Jews lurks in the writings of many of the philosophic school, especially those of Gibbon and Voltaire. It was partly the leaven of hereditary aversion, partly, perhaps, the fastidiousness of Parisian taste, which dreaded all contamination from a filthy and sordid, as well as a superstitious, race; but, most of all, from the intimate relation of the Mosaic with the Christian religion. The Jews were hated as the religious ancestors of the Christians, and, in Paley's phrase, it became the accustomed mode of warfare "to wound Christianity through the sides of Judaism." Strange fate of the Jews, after having suffered centuries of persecution for their opposition to Christianity, now to be held up to public scorn and detestation for their alliance with it! The legislation of Frederick the Great almost, as it were, throws us back into the middle ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of the Jews in the kingdom, divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child, the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia; exception

were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burthens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the kingdom, for their patent of protection, for every election of an elder in their communities, and every marriage. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined, every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain to the amount of 300 rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burdened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade, from agriculture, from breweries and distilleries, from manufactures, from inn-keeping, from victualling, from physic and surgery.

Nor in more enlightened countries was the public mind prepared for any innovations in the relative condition of the Jews. In England, since the time of Charles II., they had lived in peace in their two communities of Portuguese and German origin. They had obtained relief under James II. from an alien duty, which restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under William III. Under queen Anne a regulation was made to facilitate conversions from the Jews; the chancellor was empowered to enforce from the father of a convert to Christianity a fair and sufficient maintenance. The baptism of a rich and influential person of the sect, named Moses Marcus, excited a considerable sensation at the time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the cause of the Jews was brought forward under the unpopular auspices of Toland the Freethinker. In 1753 a more important measure was attempted. A bill was introduced into parliament for the naturalization of all Jews who had resided three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It

excluded them from civil offices, but in other respects bestowed all the privileges of British subjects. The bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent. But the old jealousies only slumbered, they were not extinguished. The nation, as if horror-struck at finding those whom it had been accustomed to consider as outlaws, thus suddenly introduced into its bosom, burst into an irresistible clamour of indignation. The mayor and citizens of London, for mercantile jealousy mingled with religious prejudices, took the lead in denouncing this inroad on the constitution and insult on Christianity. The pulpits thundered; a respectable clergyman, Tucker, who had written a defence of the measure, was maltreated by the populace. The ministry and the houses of parliament found it necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute.

In Italy, till the French revolution, the Jews enjoyed their quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto, and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the maritime towns they continued to prosper.

In Germany, the public mind was surprised at the unusual phenomenon of a Jew suddenly starting forward in the career of letters, and assuming a high and acknowledged rank in the rapidly awakening literature of that country, as a metaphysical and philosophical writer. This was the celebrated Moses Mendelsohn, who, by genius and unwearied application, broke through the most formidable obstacles, poverty, dependence, and the spirit of his sect. The Jews were proud of his distinction, but trembled at his desertion of their ancient opinions; the Christians confidently looked forward to the accession of so enlightened a mind to the Church; the philosophers expected him to join in their fierce crusade against religion. Mendelsohn retained his own calm and independent course. He remained outwardly a member of the synagogue, while he

threw aside disdainfully the trammels of Rabbinism; to a letter of Lavater, urging him to embrace Christianity, he returned a firm and temperate vindication of his adherence to his former faith; his mild and amiable spirit had little in communion with the unprincipled apostles of infidelity. It would be difficult to define the religious opinions of Mendelsohn, whose mind, in some respects singularly lucid, in others partook of the vague and dreamy mysticism of his countrymen; but if he had any fixed view, it probably was to infuse into a kind of philosophic, or, as it would now be called, rationalizing, Judaism, the spirit of pure Christian love. But whatever the opinions of Mendelsohn, whether Jew, Christian, or infidel, his success in letters exercised an important influence both on the minds of his own brethren, and on the estimation in which the Jews were held, at least, in Germany. Many of the Jewish youth, emancipated by his example from the control of Rabbinism, probably rushed headlong down the precipice of unbelief; while, on the other hand, a kindlier feeling gradually arose towards the brethren of a man whose writings delighted and instructed many of the rising youth of Germany.

In the year 1780, the imperial *avant-courier* of the revolution, Joseph the Second, ascended the throne. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer was a measure for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. In Vienna, they had been barely tolerated since their expulsion by Leopold the First. This monarch had a Jewish mistress, named Esther, who was shot crossing the bridge from Leopoldstadt to the capital. The crime was, most improbably, charged on the Jews, and the afflicted monarch revenged her loss by the expulsion of her brethren from the city. But this exile was not lasting. Under Maria Theresa, the Jews were permitted to reside in Vienna, and enjoyed a certain sort of protection. In the other provinces of the

empire they had lived unmolested, unless perhaps by some vexatious local regulations, or popular commotions in the different cities. Joseph published his edict of toleration, by which he opened to the Jews the schools and the universities of the empire, and gave them the privilege of taking degrees as doctors in philosophy, medicine, and civil law. It enforced upon them the wise preliminary measure of establishing primary schools for their youth. It threw open the whole circle of trade to their speculations, permitted them to establish manufactories of all sorts excepting gunpowder, and to attend fairs in towns where they were not domiciliated. In all the cities of the empire it made them liable to a toleration tax, and certain other contributions, but it gave them equal rights, and subjected them to the same laws with the Christians. Some years after, they were made liable to military conscription; but according to the established Austrian code, not being nobles, they could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers.

The French revolution was advancing, that terrible epoch in which all that was wise and sound, as well as all that was antiquated and iniquitous in the old institutions of Europe, was shattered to the earth—but from which all-merciful Providence will, no doubt, as from the tornado, the earthquake, and the volcanic eruption, deduce much eventual good. The revolution found some Jews in France: after their final expulsion, a few Portuguese fugitives had been permitted to take up their abode in Bourdeaux and Bayonne. There were a certain number in the old papal dominions in Avignon. The conquest of the city of Metz, and afterward of Alsace, included some considerable communities under the dominion of France. The Jews of this latter province presented a remarkable petition, in 1780, to the king in council. It complained of the burthen of the seignorial rights. Besides the royal patent of protection

for which they paid, the lords of the soil exacted a capitation tax for the right of residence within their domains, from which not even the aged, nor infirm, nor children, nor even the Rabbins and officers of the synagogue were exempt. These privileges were not hereditary; they expired with the person of the bearer, and for each child a special patent was to be purchased. They complained likewise of the restrictions on their commerce, and of the activity of the clergy, who seduced their children at a very tender age to submit to baptism. They proposed, with great justice, that no abjuration of Judaism should be permitted under twelve years of age. The appeal to the equity of Louis the Sixteenth was not in vain—the capitation tax was abolished in 1784, and in 1788 a commission was appointed, with the wise and good Malesherbes at its head, to devise means for remodelling on principles of justice all laws relating to the Jews. The celebrated Abbé Gregoire gained the prize for a dissertation, which was received with great applause, on the means of working the regeneration of the Jews. But the revolutionary tribunals were more rapid in their movements than the slow justice of the sovereign. In 1790, the Jews, who had watched their opportunity, sent in a petition, claiming equal rights as citizens. The measure was not passed without considerable discussion; but Mirabeau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the Jews were recognised as free citizens of the great republic.

A parallel has often been instituted between Cromwell and Buonaparte; it is a curious coincidence that both should have been engaged in designs for the advantage of the Jews. In the year 1806, while this extraordinary man was distributing to his followers the kingdoms of Europe, and consolidating the superiority of France over the whole continent, the world heard with amazement, almost bordering

on ridicule, that he had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at Paris. We are more inclined to look for motives of policy in the acts of Napoleon, than of vanity or philanthropy nor does it seem unlikely, that in this singular transaction he contemplated remotely, if not immediately, both commercial and military objects. He might hope to turn to his own advantage, by a cheap sacrifice to the national vanity, the wide extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughou the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers, and the secret ramifications of their trade, which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his continental system. At all events, in every quarter of Europe, the Jews would be invaluable auxiliaries of a commissariat; and as the reconstruction of the kingdom of Poland might at any time enter into his political system, their aid might not be unworthy of consideration. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the twelve questions submitted to the Sanhedrin seem to refer to the Jews strictly as subjects and citizens of the empire. They were, briefly, as follows:—I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? II. Is divorce recognised by the Jewish Law? III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren? V. In what relation, according to the Jewish Law, would the Jews stand towards the French? VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land? VII. Who elect the Rabbins? VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins? IX. Is the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom? X. Is there any kind of business in which Jews may not be engaged? XI. Is usury to their brethren for bidden by the Law? XII. Is it permitted or for

bidden, to practise usury with strangers? The answers of the deputies were clear and precise: as they throw much light on the opinions of the more enlightened Jews, they are subjoined, with as much conciseness as possible though we suspect, that they are not universally recognised as the authoritative sentence of the nation. I. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030. II. Divorce is allowed, but in this respect the Jews recognise the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live. III. Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. IV. The Jews of France recognise in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren. V. The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is in their religion. VI. The Jews acknowledged France as their country when oppressed,—how much more must they when admitted to civil rights? VII. The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community. VIII. The Rabbins have no judicial power; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal. The Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land, whatever power they might otherwise exercise is annulled. IX. The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on usage. X. All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade. XI. XII. The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest; but this was the law of an agricultural people. The Talmud allows interest to be taken from brethren and strangers; it forbids usury.

In 1807, the Sanhedrin was formally assembled, according to a plan for the regular organization of the Jews throughout the empire. Every 2,000 Jews were to form a synagogue and a consistory, con-

sisting of one head and two inferior Rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory chose twenty-five notables, above thirty years old, for their council. Bankrupts and usurers were excluded ; the consistory was to watch over the conduct of the Rabbins ; the central consistory of Paris was to be a supreme tribunal, with the power of appointing or deposing the Rabbins ; the Rabbins were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrin, to preach obedience to the laws, to urge their people to enter into the military service ! to pray in the synagogues for the imperial house ! In 1807, the Sanhedrin assembled in great form, and generally ratified the decrees of the deputies. The imperial edict confirmed the whole system of organization, though the triumph of the Jews was in some degree damped by an ordinance aimed chiefly at the Jews of the Rhenish provinces. It interdicted the Jews from lending money to minors without consent of their guardians, to wives without consent of their husbands, to soldiers without consent of their officers. It annulled all bills, for which "value received" could not be proved. All Jews engaged in commerce were obliged to take out a patent, all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. The general effect of all these measures was shown in a return made in 1808. It reported that there were 80,000 Jews in the dominion of France, 1,232 landed proprietors, not reckoning the owners of houses, 797 military, 2,360 artisans, 250 manufacturers.

The laws of France relating to the Jews have remained unaltered : in Italy, excepting in the Tuscan dominions, they have become again subject to the ancient regulations. In Germany, some hostility is yet lurking in the popular feeling, not so much from religious animosity, as from commercial jealousy, in the great trading towns, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and particularly Frankfort, where

they are still liable to an oppressive tax for the right of residence. Nor did the ancient nobility behold, without sentiments of animosity, their proud patrimonial estates, falling, during the great political changes, into the hands of the more prosperous Israelites. Nevertheless, their condition, both political and intellectual, has been rapidly improving. Before the fall of Napoleon, besides many of the smaller states, the grand duke of Baden, in 1809, the king of Prussia, in 1812, the duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin, in 1812, the king of Bavaria, in 1813, issued ordinances admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from particular imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. The act for the federative constitution of Germany, passed at the congress of Vienna, in 1815, pledges the diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil state of the Jews throughout the empire. The king of Prussia had, before this, given security that he would nobly redeem his pledge; he had long paid great attention to the encouragement of education among the Jews; and in his rapidly improving dominions, the Jews are said to be by no means the last in the career of advancement. Nor has his benevolence been wasted on an ungrateful race: they are reported to be attached with patriotic zeal to their native land; many Jews are stated to have fallen in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. During the last year, while the states of Wirtemberg were discussing a bill for the extension of civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stutgard surrounded the hall of assembly with fierce outcries; "Down with the Jews, down with the friends of the Jews!" The states maintained their dignity, and, unmoved, proceeded to the ratification of the obnoxious edict.

The policy of the Russian government seems to have been to endeavour to overthrow the Rabbinical authority, and to relieve the crowded Polish provinces by transferring the Jews to less dense, peopled

parts of their dominions, where it was hoped they might be induced or compelled to become an agricultural race. A ukase of the emperor Alexander in 1803-4, prohibited the practice of small trades to the Jews of Poland, and proposed to transport numbers of them to agricultural settlements. He transferred likewise the management of the revenue of the communities from the Rabbins, who were accused of malversation, to the elders. A recent decree of the emperor Nicholas appears to be aimed partly at the Rabbins, who are to be immediately excluded by the police from any town they may enter, and at the petty traffickers, who are entirely prohibited in the Russian dominions; though the higher order of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, are admitted, on receiving an express permission from government: artisans and handcraftsmen are encouraged, though they are subject to rigorous police regulations, and must be attached to some guild or fraternity. They cannot move without a passport.

It only remains to give the best estimate we can afford of the number of the Jews now dispersed throughout the four quarters of the world. Such statements must of necessity be extremely loose and imperfect. Even in Europe it would be difficult to approximate closely to the truth; how much more so in Africa and Asia, where our data depend on no statistic returns, and where the habits of the people are probably less stationary.

It is calculated that there exist between four and five millions* of this people, descended in a direct line from, and maintaining the same laws with, their forefathers, who, above 3,000 years ago,

* A statement has just been published in this country, from the Weimar Geographical Ephemerides, which gives the whole number of Jews at little more than three millions. We should conceive the Asiatic, and perhaps the Russian, stated too low; but we subjoin these numbers.

retreated from Egypt under the guidance of their inspired lawgiver.

In Africa, we know little more of their numbers than that they are found along the whole coast, from Morocco to Egypt; they travel with the caravans into the interior, nor is there probably a region undiscovered by Christian enterprise, which has not been visited by the Jewish trafficker. In Morocco they are said to be held in low estimation, and treated with great indignity by the Moors.

In Egypt, 150 families alone inhabit that great city, Alexandria, which has so often flowed with torrents of Jewish blood, and where, in the splendid days of the Macedonian city, their still recruited wealth excited the rapacious jealousy of the hostile populace or oppressive government.

In Cairo, the number of Jews is stated at 2,000, including, it should seem, sixty Karaite families. The Falishas, or Jewish tribe named by Bruce, inhabit the borders of Abyssinia; and it is probable that in that singular kingdom, many Jews either dwell or make their periodical visits.*

In Asia, the Jews still most likely might be found in considerable numbers on the verge of the continent; in China, where we are not aware that their communities have ceased to exist; and on the coast of Malabar, in Cochin, where two distinct races, called black and white Jews, were visited by Dr. Buchanan. The traditions of the latter averred that they had found their way to that region after the fall of Jerusalem, but the date they assigned for their migration singularly coincided with that of a persecution in Persia, about A. C. 508, from whence, most likely, they found their way to India. The origin of the black Jews is more obscure; it is not impossible that they may have been converts of the more

* In the Weimar statement, the Jews of Africa stand as follows: Morocco and Fez, 300,000; Tunis, 130,000; Algiers, 30,000; Gabes or Gabesh, 20,000; Tripoli, 12,000; Egypt, 12,000. Total, 504,000.

civilized whites, or, more probably, are descendants of black slaves. The Malabar Jews were about 1,000; they possessed a copy of the Old Testament. Many are found in other parts of the East Indies.

In Bokhara reside 2,000 families of Jews; in Balkh, 150.

In Persia, they have deeply partaken of the desolation which has fallen on the fair provinces of that land; their numbers were variously stated to Mr Woolff at 2,974 and 3,590 families. Their chief communities are at Shiraz and Ispahan, Kashaan and Yazd. They are subject to the heaviest exactions, and to the capricious despotism of the governors. "I have travelled far," said a Jew to Mr. Woolff; "the Jews are everywhere princes, in comparison with those in the land of Persia. Heavy is our captivity, heavy is our burthen, heavy is our slavery; anxiously we wait for redemption."

In Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews are still occupied by 5,270 families, exclusive of those in Bagdad and Bassora. The latter are described as a fine race, both in form and intellect; in the provinces they are broken in mind and body by the heavy exactions of the pashas, and by long ages of sluggish ignorance. At Bagdad the ancient title of Prince of the Captivity, so long, according to the accounts of the Jews, entirely suppressed, was borne by an ancient Jew named Isaac. He paid dear for his honour: he was suddenly summoned to Constantinople and imprisoned.

At Damascus there are seven synagogues and four colleges.

In Arabia, whether not entirely expelled by Mahomet, or having returned to their ancient dwellings in later periods, the Beni-Khaibr still retain their Jewish descent and faith. In Yemen reside 2,658 families, 18,000 souls.

In Palestine, of late years, their numbers have

greatly increased; it is said, but we are inclined to doubt the numbers, that 10,000 inhabit Safet and Jerusatem. They are partly Karaites: some very pathetic hymns of this interesting Israelitish race have been published in the Journals of Mr. Wolff, which must have a singularly affecting sound when heard from children of Israel, bewailing, upon the very ruins of Jerusalem, the fallen city, and the suffering people.*

In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States, the Israelites are calculated at 800,000. In Asia Minor they are numerous, in general unenlightened, rapacious, warred on, and at war with mankind.

In Constantinople, they are described as the most fierce and fanatical race which inhabit the city, hated by and hating the Greeks with the unmitigated animosity of ages, they lend themselves to every atrocity for which the government may demand unrelenting executioners. They were employed in the barbarous murder and maltreatment of the body of the Patriarch; on the other hand, the old rumours of their crucifying Christian children are still revived: the body of a youth was found pierced with many wounds; the murder was, with one voice, charged upon the Jews. Their numbers are stated at 40,000.

At Adrianople reside 800 families, with thirteen synagogues.

In Salonichi, 30,000 possess thirty synagogues; and in this city, the ancient Thessalonica, the most learned of the Eastern Rabbins are reported to teach in their schools, with great diligence, the old Talmudic learning.

In the Crimea, the Karaites still possess their wild

* Asia:—Asiatic Turkey, 335,000; Arabias, 200,000; Hindostan, 100,000; China, 60,000; Turkistan, 40,000; Province of Iran, 35,000. Russia in Asia, 3,000. Total 738,000.—*Weimar Statement*

and picturesque mountain fortress, so beautifully described by Dr. Clarke, with its cemetery reposing under its ancient and peaceful grove, and the simple manners of its industrious and blameless people, who are proverbial elsewhere, as in this settlement, for their honesty. Their numbers amount to about 1,200.

In the Russian Asiatic dominions, about Caucasus and in Georgia, their numbers are considerable. In Georgia some of them are serfs attached to the soil; some, among the wild tribes about Caucasus, are bold and marauding horsemen like their Tartar compatriots.

But the ancient kingdom of Poland, with the adjacent provinces of Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, is still the great seat of the modern Jewish population. Three millions have been stated to exist in these regions; but probably this is a great exaggeration. In Poland, they form the intermediate class between the haughty nobles and the miserable agricultural villains of that kingdom.* The rapid increase of their population, beyond all possible maintenance by trade, embarrasses the government. They cannot ascend or descend; they may not become possessors, they are averse to becoming cultivators of the soil; they swarm in all the towns. In some districts, as in Volhynia, they are described by bishop James as a fine race, with the lively, expressive eye of the Jew, and forms, though not robust, active and well-proportioned. Of late years, much attention, under the sanction of the government, has been paid to their education, and a great institution established for this purpose at Warsaw.

The number of Jews in the Austrian dominions is estimated, including Galicia, at 650,000. In the Prussian dominions at 135,000. In the rest of Ger-

* A Jewish free corps served under Kosciusko during the insurrection in Poland.

many, 138,000. The emperor of Austria has afforded to Europe the novel sight of a Jew created a baron, and invested with a patent of nobility.

In Denmark and Sweden the Jews are in considerable numbers; those resident in Copenhagen were stated in 1819 at 1,491. They enjoy freedom of trade and the protection of the government.

The Netherlands contain 80,000.

In France, now deprived of the German and Italian provinces of the empire, the Israelites are reckoned at about 40 or 50,000.

In Spain the iron edict of Ferdinand and Isabella still excludes the Israelite. At the extremity of the land, in Gibraltar, 3 or 4,000 are found under the equitable protection of Great Britain.

In Portugal they have been tolerated since the time of the late king, John VI., who remunerated their services in introducing large cargoes of corn during a famine, by the recognition of their right to inhabit Lisbon.*

In Italy their numbers are considerable. It is said that many have taken refuge in Tuscany from the sterner government of Sardinia; where, under the French dominion, among a Jewish population of 5,543, there were 182 landed proprietors, 402 children attended the public schools: 7,000 is given as their number in the Austrian territories in Italy.

In Great Britain the number of Jews is variously stated from 12 to 25,000. They are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in parliament, from which they are excluded by the recent act, which requires an oath to be taken on the faith of a Christian. In the

* Europe:—In Russia and Poland, 608,800; Austria, 453,524; European Turkey, 321,000; States of the German Confederation, 138,000; Prussia, 134,000; Netherlands, 80,000; France, 60,000; Italy, 36,000; Great Britain, 12,000; Cracow, 7,300; Ionian Isles, 7,000; Denmark, 6,000; Switzerland, 1,970; Sweden, 450. Total number of Jews in Europe, 1,918,053; or a proportion of a 13th part of the population, calculated at 227 millions.—*Wicmar Statement.*

city of London they are prevented by municipal regulations from taking out their freedom; a restriction which subjects them to great occasional embarrassment and vexation, as no one can legally follow a retail trade without having previously gone through this ceremony.

In America the Jews are calculated at about 6,000; the few in the former dominions of Spain and Portugal, are descendants of those who, under the assumed name of Christians, fled from the Inquisition; in Surinam a prosperous community is settled under the protection of the Dutch; they were originally established at Cayenne: there are some in Jamaica. In the United States their principal settlements are at New-York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.*

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have access, is the number and distribution of the children of Israel; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and, at least the mass of the community, treasuring in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers.

History, which is the record of the past, has now discharged its office; it presumes not to raise the mysterious veil which the Almighty has spread over the future. The destinies of this wonderful people, as of all mankind, are in the hands of the All-Wise Ruler of the Universe; his decrees will be accomplished; his truth, his goodness, and his wisdom vindicated. This, however, we may venture to assert, that true religion will advance with the dis-

* America:—North America, 5,000. Netherlandish Colonies, 500
Demerara and Essequibo, 200 Total, 5,700.
New-Holland, 50.—*Weimar Statement*

semination of knowledge; the more enlightened the Jew becomes, the less credible will it appear that the Universal Father intended an exclusive religion, confined to one family among the race of man, to be permanent; the more evident that the faith which embraces the whole human race within the sphere of its benevolence, is alone adapted to a more advanced and civilized age. On the other hand, Christianity, to work any change on the hereditary religious pride of the Jew, on his inflexible confidence in his inalienable privileges, must put off the hostile and repulsive aspect which it has too long worn; it must show itself as the faith of reason, of universal peace and good-will to man, and thus unanswerably prove its descent from the All-wise and All-merciful Father.

APPENDIX.

THE Preface to the former edition of this work ended with these words: “In the works of writers hostile to revelation the author has seen many objections, embarrassing to those who take up a narrow system of interpreting the Hebrew writings; to those who adopt a more rational latitude of exposition, none.” In the few sentences prefixed to the first volume of the new edition, he has referred to the opinions of Paley on this subject; on further consideration, and for the convenience of the reader, he subjoins that writer’s chapter, from his celebrated work on the Evidences, on the Connexion of Christianity with the Jewish History.

“Undoubtedly our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution; and, independently of his authority, I conceive it to be very difficult to assign any other cause for the commencement or existence of that institution; especially for the singular circumstance of the Jews adhering to the Unity when every other people slid into polytheism; for their being men in religion, children in every thing else; behind other nations in the arts of peace and war, superior to the most improved in their sentiments and doctrines relating to the Deity. Undoubtedly, also, our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far therefore, we are bound, as Christians, to go. But to make Christianity answerable, with its life, for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity and judgment of every writer

in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews of our Saviour's time. He and his apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where he expressly ascribes a divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any conclusion from the books being so used and applied, besides the proof, which it unquestionably is, of their notoriety and reception at that time. In this view, our Scriptures afford a valuable testimony to that of the Jews. But the nature of this testimony ought to be understood. It is surely very different from what it is sometimes represented to be—a specific ratification of each particular fact and opinion; and not only of each particular fact, but of the motives assigned for every action, together with the judgment of praise or dispraise bestowed upon them. Saint James, in his epistle, says, ‘Ye have heard of the patience of Job and have seen the end of the Lord.’ Notwithstanding this text, the reality of Job’s history, and even the existence of such a person, has been always deemed a fair subject of inquiry and discussion among Christian divines. St. James’s authority is considered as good evidence of the existence of the Book of Job at that time, and of its reception by the Jews; and of nothing more. St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, has this similitude: ‘Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth.’ Those names are not found in the Old Testament. And it is uncertain whether St. Paul took them from some apocryphal writing then extant, or from tradition. But no one ever imagined that St. Paul is here asserting the authority of the writing, if it was a written account which he quoted, or making himself answerable for the authenticity of the tradition; much less that he so involves himself with either of these questions as that the

credit of his own history and mission should depend upon the fact, whether Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses or not. For what reason a more rigorous interpretation should be put upon other references, it is difficult to know. I do not mean that other passages of the Jewish history stand upon no better evidence than the history of Job, or of Jannes and Jambres (I think much otherwise); but I mean that a reference in the New Testament to a passage in the Old does not so fix its authority as to exclude all inquiry into the separate reasons upon which its credibility is founded; and that it is an unwarrantable as well as unsafe rule to lay down concerning the Jewish history, what was never laid down concerning any other, that either every particular of it must be true, or the whole false. I have thought it necessary to state this point explicitly, because a fashion, revived by Voltaire, and pursued by the disciples of his school, seems to have much prevailed of late, of attacking Christianity through the sides of Judaism. Some objections of this class are founded on misconstruction, some on exaggeration, but all proceed upon a supposition, which has not been made out by argument, viz. that the attestation which the author and first teachers of Christianity gave to the mission of Moses and the prophets, extends to every point and portion of the Jewish history; and so extends as to make Christianity responsible in its own credibility for the circumstantial truth (I had almost said for the critical accuracy) of every narrative contained in the Old Testament.”*

Paley wrote during the fiercest heat of battle against the Christian faith, but he was too manly and courageous a reasoner to abandon any position which his singularly clear and powerful understanding considered either tenable or important. But, in fact, it

* Paley's Evidences, Part III. Chap. 8

is not necessary to rake into the dust of buried infidelity, to discover the objections to which he alludes; they are perpetually current among us, and rise up to every mind which ventures to think, to inquire, or to reason on such subjects. These difficulties, which, on the view of Paley, and, if the author may presume to add, his own, fall at once to the ground, may be briefly stated under the following heads. The first, perhaps the least important, is the discrepancies between the different books and narratives of the Old Testament. Now these, which can only be fairly appreciated after a profound and critical study of the whole text, and each separate narrative (a study which has been for some time almost in abeyance in this country), are only perplexing to those who consider the Hebrew books as infallible oracles, not only of moral and religious truth, but even of the most minute historical incident. To him who receives them as the records of honest and faithful historians (and in this light some of our most sober divines are content to consider the Evangelists), far from losing their authority, their general credibility is rather strengthened and confirmed.

II. On the objections raised against many of the actions of those who were employed as instruments of Divine Providence for specific purposes, some observations have been offered at the end of the first book. Of these, it may be added, many are grounded on ignorance of ancient or of Eastern manners and customs, or on disregard of the state of civilization at the particular periods; and hence the author has studiously endeavoured to throw an oriental east over his earlier narrative, for unless considered with reference to Eastern usages, it is impossible to comprehend the real spirit of the history. Where moral delinquencies have been the subject of hostile animadversion, the objections have been usually met by the unsatisfactory answer of exculpation, not always successful—by extenuation, by palliation, or by any

other means which superstitious veneration for those who, one and all, are often unaccountably enough called the “ saints” of the Old Testament, may suggest. The author prefers the more plain and manly course of rejecting at once what appears to him a complete, though pious fallacy—namely, the notion that the patriarchs, or the judges, or the kings of the Jews are to be considered, excepting where their actions are unequivocally sanctioned by the Almighty, as possessing any claim upon our reverence or admiration more than ordinary mortals. Here, again, the difficulties are entirely of our own making ; we have chosen, without warrant from reason or revelation, to conclude that the instruments must necessarily be the favourites of the Almighty ; and thus embarrass ourselves with the necessity of vindicating all their actions. While, on the other view, if the worst which the subtle sarcasm of Bayle, the more sportive malice of Voltaire, or the rude vehemence of Paine have asserted or insinuated were true to the letter, it becomes utterly unimportant and irrelevant to the great question, the truth of the Christian or Mosaic religion.

III. The historical insignificance of the chosen people, as a nation, and some of the minute provisions of the law, have formed another strong ground of objection. Neither has this question been altogether fairly met. The latter vanishes at once before the candid consideration of the general scope and character of the Mosaic institutes : the former, our view of the history may, perhaps, in some degree have answered, particularly where we have contrasted Moses with other human legislators. In truth, while the more important religious design of the Jewish constitution has absorbed the attention, its remarkable political character has generally escaped observation. But undoubtedly a great step in civil improvement was made in the Hebrew polity ; so great, that those who trace the berignant designs

of Divine Providence in the development of the human race, might hence infer, even without any other evidence, the overruling goodness of the Deity. The only national governments known at the time of the foundation of the Jewish commonwealth were the oriental despotism, the abuse of the patriarchal rule, and the scarcely less tyrannical aristocracy of castes. In the Hebrew institutes, for the first time in the history of man, the welfare of the whole community was assumed as the end and object of the polity. The federal constitution of the Hebrews is a sort of link between the arbitrary monarchies or priestly oligarchies of Asia and the free republics of Europe; avoiding, with singular felicity, the evils of both: in the former, the overweening power of the sovereign or the order—the unmitigated slavery of the lower class of the community in the latter.

IV. There is one other point which all calm reasoners approach with some degree of reluctance—the fierce and sanguinary character of some of the transactions recorded in the early history of the Jews, particularly the authorization, or, if our stern opponents will, the command of the extirpation of the Canaanites. Any attempt to throw light on this subject, if successful would surely deserve the gratitude, if not quite satisfactory the candid consideration, of all thoughtful Christians. The common answer, so strongly urged, among other powerful writers, by Paley—the appeal to the analogy of nature; and the argument, that the Almighty might employ the arms of an invading people, as well as the earthquake or pestilence, to punish some “high-minded” race, is full and satisfactory, as regards half, but only half, the question. Were such a divine commission issued to a civilized nation in the present day, we should consider, not only the evil wrought on the destroyed, but on the destroyers; the habits of bloody and relentless warfare—the excitement of the fiercest passions—the contempt for human life—

and all the brutalizing effects produced on national character by being engaged in a war of extermination. But throw the transaction back into its proper stage of civilization, and represent it as the common barbarous warfare of a barbarous age, the case is materially altered. What if one generation (for the conquest was clearly intended to be completed by one generation) were left to the unreclaimed ferocity of the more savage state, before the milder genius of the Mosaic institutes was to subdue these fierce conquerors into a peaceful agricultural people? In this case we have nothing more than the ordinary and common development of society—an event which finds its melancholy precedent in the early history of almost every nation.*

Hence, although the political history of the Jews was selected as the main object of our work, it is not, if fairly considered, without its advantages in a religious point of view, as thus tending to obviate difficulties which can scarcely escape the notice of any attentive reader of the Sacred History.

But, however in these respects our work may have departed from the usual view of the Jewish annals, the point which seems to have made the strongest impression, and has been urged with the greatest vehemence against the "History of the Jews," regards the manner in which the miracles are related. Will it be credited that, after all the clamour, proceeding, in some instances, from quarters where such ignorance is almost incredible, the interpretations in this work, with two or three exceptions, are the same with those which have been long current in the most popular books; in Calmet,

* In the History we have pointed out the barbarity of warfare common among the tribes in Palestine; in the contemporary, or nearly contemporary Egyptian sculptures, we have some horrid illustrations of the ferocity of the times—captives bound alive to the whirling wheels of the chariots (see Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*), or coolly mutilated, in the presence of the king, with the scribe taking regular note of the number of amputated limbs. (See Champollion's *Letters from Egypt.*)

in Natural Histories of the Bible, in Commentaries of all classes, and even in the Family Bible of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge? The author ventures to request the reader's attention to the following parallel. On the subject of the first miraculous event, the destruction of the "Cities of the Plain," a critic, who, if he had substituted calm reasoning, erudition somewhat more general and extensive, and Christian candour for passionate declamation, would have written with more effect, bursts out into the following indignant apostrophe:—"Who art thou, O man, who hast dared to lay bare the works of the Almighty arm, and delineate with such easy familiarity the acts of Him whose thoughts are not as thy thoughts, and whose ways are not as thy ways?—*We care not what foundation the writer may have for such bold descriptions*, nor how he may attempt to overwhelm us with the learning of Rosenmuller or Michaelis."* A profoundly learned divine would probably have heard of certain celebrated dissertations of Le Clerc on these points. Our valiant opponent proceeds to declare himself ready to encounter "a thousand Germans" in such a cause: the author, however, has no intention of summoning to his aid these foreign and suspected auxiliaries—he will go no further than that Family Bible to which he alluded above. The author would add, that where he differs from it *on these points*, it is often because some of the circumstances which he has introduced have come to light subsequent to the publication of that useful work.

* Who but this writer (says the same critic), unless he were a skeptic, would have uttered the supposition that, when he slew the Egyptian, "an unformed notion of delivering his countrymen from their bondage was already brooding in the mind of Moses?" Let us hear what the proto-martyr, St. Stephen, says on this subject. "When he (Moses) was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren, the children of Israel; and, seeing one of them suffer wrong, he defended him, and avenged him that was oppressed, and smote the Egyptian. *For he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them, but they understood not.*"—Acts vii. 23—25, &c. &c.

DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

Family Bible.

THE plain where these cities stood, which had been pleasant and fruitful, like an earthly paradise, was first inflamed by lightning, which set fire to the bitumen with which it was replete; and it was afterward overflowed by the waters of the Jordan, which diffused itself there, and formed the Dead Sea, or Lake of Sodom, called also the Lake Asphaltites, because of the asphaltus or bitumen with which it abounded; and the Salt Sea, because the Hebrews call nitre and bitumen salt; &c. &c. &c.—CALMET.—BPS. PATRICK and POCOCKE.—MAUNDRELL.

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THE valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Tseboim, were situated, was rich and highly cultivated. It is most probable that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous convulsion; the watercourses, both the river and the canals, by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were, perhaps, built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley, which had been compared to paradise and to the well watered cornfields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake.

TRANSFORMATION OF LOT'S WIFE.

It is probable that some of the dreadful shower which destroyed the cities of the plain overtook her, and, falling upon her, wrapped her body in a sheet of nitro-sulphurous matter; which congealed like a crust, as hard as a stone, and made her appear like a pillar of salt, her body being, as it were, corroded with it. Josephus says that the pillar was remaining in his time.—BPS. PATRICK and WILSON.

His wife, lingering behind, was suffocated by the sulphurous vapours, and her body incrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere. Later tradition, founded on a literal interpretation of the Mosaic account, pointed to a heap or column of salt, which bore, perchaps, some resemblance to the human form, and was believed, even by the historian Josephus, who had seen it, to be the pillar into which she was transformed.

SWEETENING OF THE WATERS OF MARAH.

It is a question, whether those bitter waters were sweetened by the miraculous power of God, or by the natural property of the tree to which God directed Moses. Most probably, it is to be attributed to the former.—(STACKHOUSE.) Niebuhr, when upon the spot where this miracle was performed, in-

The spring was sweetened by the branch of a tree which Moses cast into it, whether from the natural virtue of the plant seeme uncertain. A plant with this property is indicated in the papers of Forskal, who travelled with Niebuhr as botanist. Burckhardt suggests the berry of the gharkad, a shrub

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 quired after wood capable of producing such an effect, but could gain no information of any. The water of these parts continues so bad to this day, and is so much in want of improvement, that, had the discovery of a wood possessing such a corrective quality been communicated to Moses, it could hardly have been lost.—(CALMET'S *Dictionary*.) The Arabs call a shrub, or tree, not unlike our hawthorn in form or flower, by the name of El-vah. It was with this wood, they say, Moses sweetened the waters of Marah.—BRUCK

THE QUAIL.

God gave quails to his people twice: once on this occasion, a short time after they had passed the Red Sea; and a second time, at the encampment called Kibroth-hattaavah, or “the graves of lust.”—Numb. xi. 31—34; Ps. cv. 40. Both of these happened in the spring, when the quails pass from Asia into Europe. Then they are found in great quantities on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. God, by a wind, drove them within and about the camp of Israel; and in this the miracle consisted, that they were brought so seasonably to this place, and in so great numbers as to suffice two or three millions of persons longer than a month. Some persons think locusts to have been here intended; but the other sense is that of the oriental interpreters in general, of the Greek translators, and of Josephus.—(CALMET.) The quail of the desert, according to Hasselquist, very much resembles the red partridge, but is not larger than the turtle-dove. The Arabs bring many thousands of them to sell at Jerusalem, about Whitsuntide.—DR. HALLES.

which grows in the neighbourhood.*

Without hesitation, Moses promised an immediate and plentiful supply. In the spring of the year, quails, migratory birds, pass in large flocks over the Arabian peninsula; they are very heavy on the wing, and their line of flight depends much on the direction of the wind. A cloud of these birds was suddenly wasted over the camp of the Israelites, and fell around them in immense numbers.

* In the new edition is a note on this subject, which may be read with interest. The Jews seem to have supposed that the plant possessed a natural property. “Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known?”—*Antiquities*, xxxviii. 6.

THE MANNA.

Family Bible.

The meaning of this word (manna) is uncertain. A great number of ancient and modern expositors understand the Hebrew word to signify "what is this;"—to which the following words, "they wist not what it was," seem to refer the meaning. Others think it may be better expounded, "It is a gift or portion," as being sent from God. *Others maintain that the Hebrews well knew what manna was, and said one to another, "This is manna."*—Bp. PATRICK—CALMET.

The manna was truly miraculous on the following accounts:—1. It fell but six days in the week. 2. It fell in such a prodigious quantity that it sustained almost three millions of souls. 3. There fell a double quantity every sixth day, to serve them for the Sabbath. 4. What was gathered in the first five days stunk and had worms if kept above one day; but what was gathered on the sixth day remained sweet for two days. Lastly, it continued falling while the Israelites abode in the wilderness, but ceased as soon as they left it, and could procure corn to eat in the land of Canaan.—STACKHOUSE.

THE DEFEAT OF THE AMALEKITES.

Not as a standard-bearer, so much as a suppliant, doth Moses lift up his hand, &c.—Bp. HALL.

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“Nor was this all; in the morning, exactly as Moses had foretold, the ground was covered with manna. This is now clearly ascertained by Seetzen and Burckhardt ‘to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June. It is still collected by the Arabs before sunrise, when it is coagulated; but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it.’ Its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. It may be kept for a year, and is found only after a wet season. It is still called by the Bedouins ‘mann.’ The quantity now collected (for it is only found in a few valleys) is very small: the preternatural part of the Mosaic narrative consists in the immense and continual supply, and the circumstances under which it was gathered, particularly its being preserved pure and sweet only for the Sabbath-day. The regulation that enough, and only enough, for the consumption of the day should be collected at a time, seems a prudent precaution, lest the more covetous or active should secure an unfair proportion, and leave the rest to starve.”

N.B. The statements of Seetzen and Burckhardt, the first travellers who have accurately described the nature and properties of the manna of the desert, were published subsequent to the compilation of the Family Bible. This passage is slightly modified, and a note added, in the new edition. Josephus asserts that in his day it still “rained manna” in the desert.

He himself, with his brother Aaron and others, takes his station on an eminence; there, in the sight of the whole army, he raises his hands in earnest supplication to heaven. The Israelites, encouraged by their trust in Divine Pro-

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vidence, fight manfully ; still the attack is fierce, long, and obstinate. The strength of Moses fails, and the Israelites behold with alarm and trepidation his arms hanging languidly down, and their courage, too, begins to give way. His companions, observing this, place him on a stone, and support his hands on each side. The valour of the people revives, and they gain a complete victory.

This is inserted to show that the author is not singular in supposing that Moses stood rather as a "suppliant than a standard-bearer." The above interpretation seems most simple; for if there was any interference, strictly speaking miraculous, as the success and failure of the Israelites followed the raising or sinking of their leader's arm, the miraculous agency of God would thus be made dependent on the physical strength of Moses.

THE FIRE AT TABERAH.

[*The Fire of the Lord.*] That is, a fire which the Lord sent among them. — Bp. KIDDER. — This fire came either immediately from heaven like lightning, or from the pillar of the cloud which went before the tabernacle. Or it might be a hot burning wind, in these places not unusual, and often very pestilential; and on this occasion preternaturally raised in the rear of the army to punish the stragglers, and such as loitered behind out of pretence of weariness.—STACKHOUSE.

"At Taberah a fire broke out which raged with great fury among the dry and combustible materials of which their tents were made. It was ascribed to the anger of the Lord, and ceased at the prayer of Moses."

The best commentators adopt the notion that this was lightning. "In the uttermost parts of the camp," appeared to imply great extent of conflagration. This passage is slightly modified in the new edition.

SECOND MIRACLE OF QUAILS.

The Family Bible is here silent. As, however, the fact is curious, I shall quote my authority, although that of a German—the first, it may be observed. "Sciileejam veteres observarunt, coturnices elleboro et alia herbis venenatis vesci solere : qua de re plura attulit, Bochartus, l. i. p. 657. Plinius, Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 23. Coturnicibus veneni semen grattissimus cibus ; quam ob causam eas damnavere mensis Didymus in Geoponicis, lib. xiv οἱ δρυγες, Ἐλλέβαρον ἐπινεμόμενοι, τοῦς λοβούτας εἰς κίνδυνον ἔμβαλ λουσ, κατεινόμενος καὶ Διγγιώ-

Quails again fell in great abundance around the camp; but immediately on this change of diet, or before, if we are to receive the account to the strict letter, a dreadful pestilence broke out. It has been suggested that quails feed on hellebore, and other poisonous plants, and may thus become most pernicious and deadly food.

Family Bible.
*ras, id quod confirmat Avicenna
 apud Bochartum.—Rosenmuller,
 Schol. in loc.*

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**THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ISRAELITES' WANTS OF CLOTHING WERE
 SUPPLIED IN THE DESERT.**

A miracle is here said to be omitted ; namely, the miraculous preservation of their garments and shoes.

[*Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee.*] Some interpreters, and particularly the Jewish Rabbins, understand by these words, that the raiment of the Israelites, during their abode in the wilderness for forty years, never decayed by using, and never was torn by accident ; and that the very clothes which they had when they were children, grew like their skin along with their bodies, and fitted them when they were men. Others explain it thus :—The good providence of God took care that the Israelites in the wilderness never wanted raiment. They were supplied partly by the flocks and the materials which they brought out of Egypt, and partly by the Arabs, Ishmaelites, and neighbouring people : so that they had change of apparel when they stood in need of it, and were not obliged to go barefoot, ragged, and half-naked for want of clothes. God so ordered the course of things, that they obtained whatsoever was needful by natural means, or, if they failed, by a miraculous interposition.—Dr. JORTIN.

Jortin seems, like the author, to have followed Le Clerc

The first of these opinions, that of the Margaret Professor of Divinity in Oxford, Rosenmuller styles “inepta et ridicula opinio.” But Rosenmuller is a German. It is not inexpedient sometimes to think before we write. Has Dr. Fausset considered that almost the whole generation perished in the wilderness ? did their clothes and shoes descend, like heirlooms, to their children—

“Grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength.”

The professor likewise objects to the “favourable view of that part of the peninsula” in which the Israelites probably passed most of their wanderings, as disparaging the miraculous supply of food. Does Dr Fausset suppose that the flocks and herds fed upon manna?

Most of their stations were on the elevated district around Mount Sinai, which is about thirty miles in diameter, the most fruitful and habitable part of the peninsula. Here their tribes could find water and pasture for their flocks and cattle. Their own labours and traffic with the caravans which crossed this region could supply most of their wants

THE PLAGUE OF SERPENTS.

Family Bible.

As Moses represents these serpents to have caused a great mortality, so the heathen writers concur in testifying, that the deserts wherein the Israelites journeyed produced serpents of so venomous a kind that their biting was deadly beyond the power of any art then known to cure it. The ancients observed, in general, that the most barren and sandy deserts had the greatest number and most venomous of serpents: Diodorus remarks this most particularly of the sands in Africa; but it was equally true of the wilderness in which the Israelites journeyed. Serpents and scorpions were here, according to Moses, as natural as drought or want of water. Deut. viii. 15.—

SUCKFORD.

The author, in the note, goes on to make some religious reflections on the subject.

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Marching along the valley, due south, the Israelites arrived at a district dreadfully infested by serpents. An adjacent region, visited by Burckhardt, is still dangerous on this account. Moses caused a serpent of brass to be made; by steadfastly gazing on which, whoever was bitten recovered.

(This is expanded in the new edition.)

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB'S ARMY.

Among other interpretations is this:—The destruction of the army was probably effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in those parts, and which often, when it falls on a multitude, destroys vast numbers in a moment, as frequently occurs to those great caravans of Mahometans who go on annual pilgrimages to Mecca. The words of Isaiah, ver. 7, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast, to be sent upon his army by God, seem to denote that this was the method of their destruction.—

DEAN PRIDEAUX.

Extracts from BRUCE and Dr. HALES follow to the same purpose:—"It is remarkable that the blast which destroyed the Assyrians happened at night; whereas the sirocco usually blows in the daytime, and mostly about noon, being raised by the intense heat of the sun."

The destruction of Sennacherib's army is generally supposed to have been caused by the sirocco, or hot and pestilential wind of the desert. The Arabs, who are well experienced in the signs which portend its approach, fall on their faces and escape its mortal influence. But the foreign forces of Sennacherib were little acquainted with the means of avoiding this unusual enemy; and, the catastrophe taking place by night (the miraculous part of the transaction, as the hot wind is in general attributed to the heat of the meridian sun), suffered immense loss.

But see note to our new edition.

The two important* remaining miracles concerning the relation of which strong objection has been made are, the passage of the Red Sea, and the stopping of the sun at the command of Joshua. In the first, the whole tenor of the argument goes to confirm the interference of Divine Providence. One single expression has been fixed upon, in which the writer, to every candid mind, would appear to be making a hypothetical concession, in order that his conclusion might be more fairly drawn.

On the latter the author has given no judgment. He has stated with candour the different opinions;—he has said that “many learned writers, whom to suspect of hostility to revealed religion would be the worst uncharitableness, have either doubted the reality or the extent of this miracle.” Among the authors to whom he alluded was Grotius; the others were the Jesuit Pereirius and Le Clerc, as well as more modern writers. It must be remembered that this miracle stands in some degree alone: it is related on the authority of a book not now extant. This book is twice quoted in the Old Testament; both of the passages (the present included) are not merely poetical, but strictly metrical. Still, the author has placed the more prevailing opinion last, and has stated, with sufficient strength and fairness, the most striking argument by which it is supported.

On one point, not miraculous, which has been strongly animadverted upon, it may be well to contrast the language of the two works.

Family Bible.

Besides the accomplishment of the Divine decree, Jehu had this further design, in requesting this cruel service of the rulers and elders and great men of the nation, namely, that he might thereby engage them in the same *conspiracy* with himself: for by prevailing with them to *murder* Ahab's kinsmen in this manner, he tied them to his interest so closely, that if any of the inferior people had wished to oppose his designs, they were by this means deprived of any man of figure and distinction to head them: and not only so, but by this expedient Jehu thought likewise that he might in a great measure justify, at least lessen, the odium of his own cruel and perfidious conduct.—CALMET.

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An indiscriminate slaughter of the seventy sons, the friends and kindred of Ahab, took place: the heads were sent, in the modern Turkish fashion, to Jehu at Jezebel. The subtle usurper ordered them to be placed by the gate, and addressed the assembled people, obliquely exculpating himself from the guilt of the massacre,—“Behold, I conspired against my master and slew him: but who slew all these?”

The author must state that all these coincidences are purely accidental: he scarcely, if ever, consulted the Family Bible during the course of his work, but in many cases obviously the same authorities.

* The critic before alluded to has entered into a long discussion on the raising Samson by the Witch of Endor, but seems entirely in the dark as to the objections to the reality of the apparition. If it was real, either the woman herself possessed the power of evoking the spirits of the just, or it was by divine permission. The former will scarcely be maintained; if the latter, we make the Almighty sanction and encourage, by its success on this memorable occasion, the practice of an art against which the law enacted capital punishment.

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